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BRYN MAWR NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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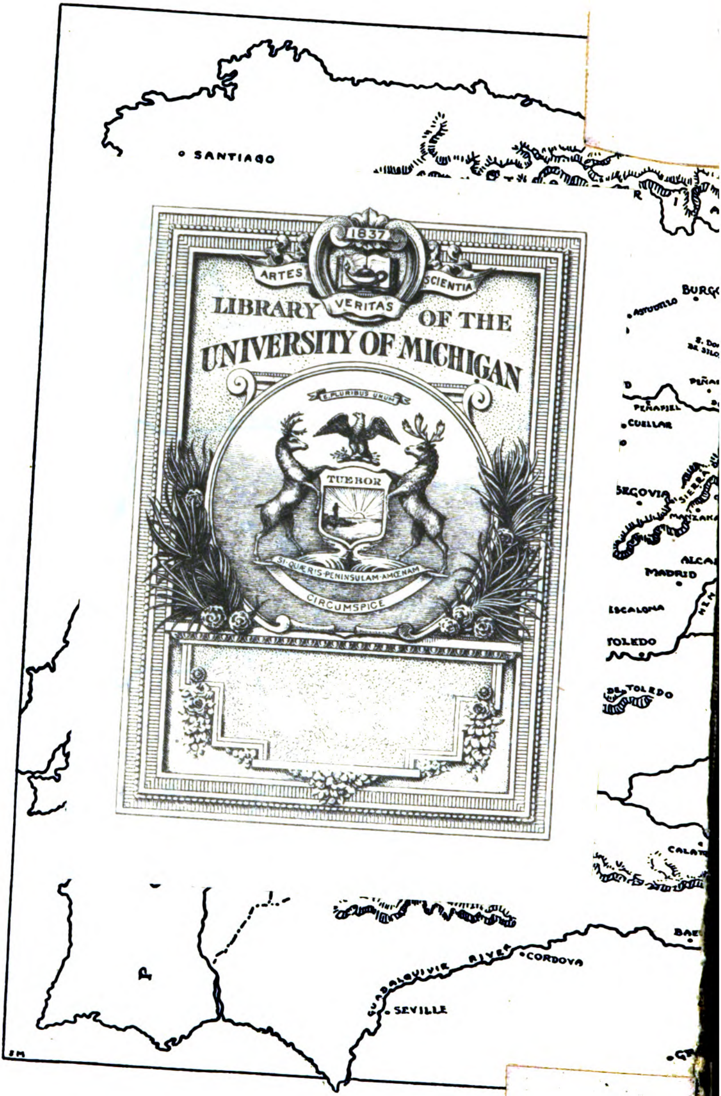
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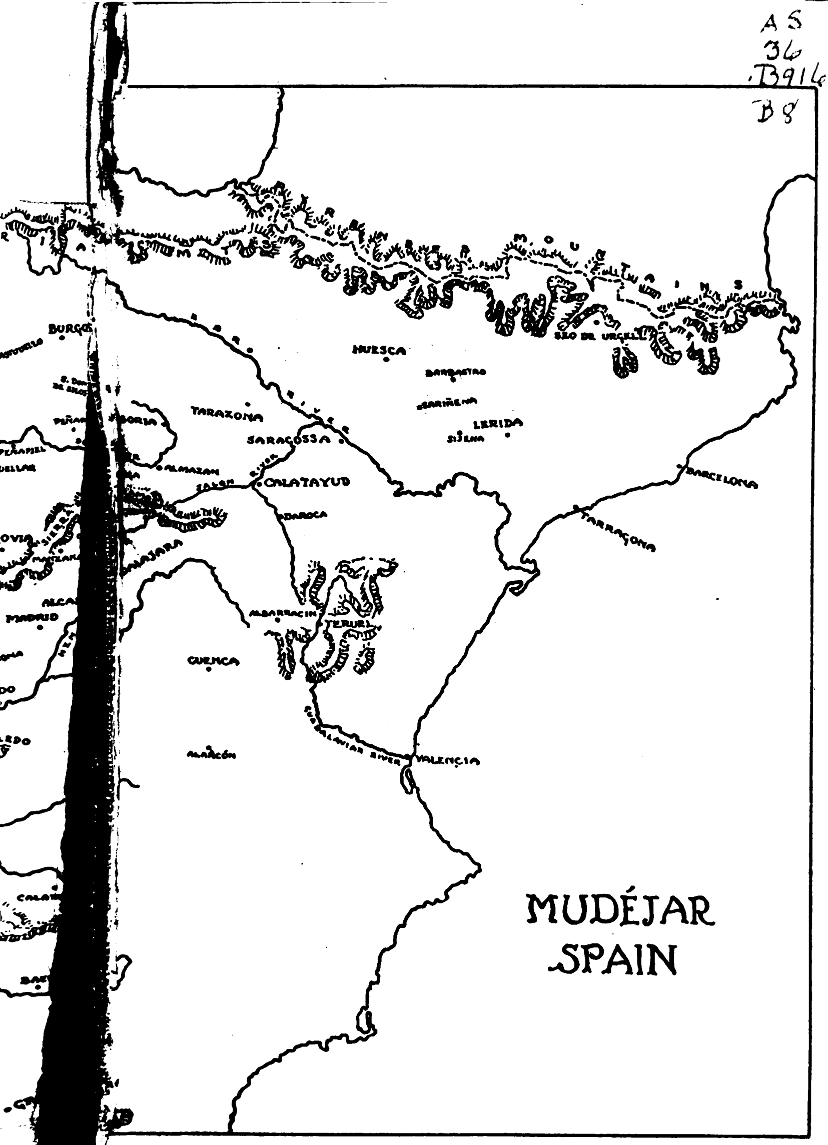
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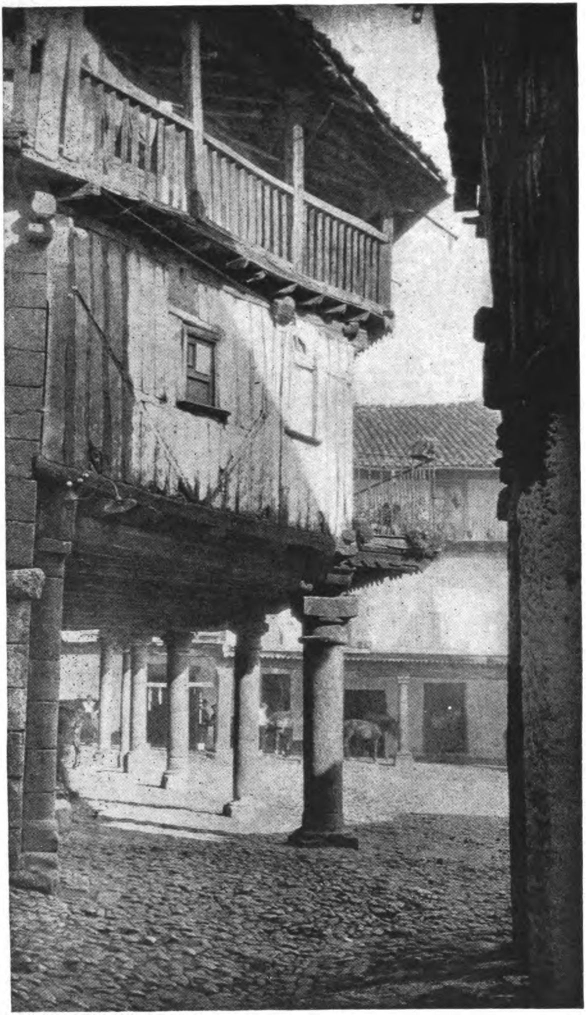

Photo. E. H. Lowber

A Mudéjar Town

MUDÉJAR

By

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To My Friend
Don Manuel Gómez-Moreno

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PREFACE

THIS book was begun to supply the want of knowledge what Mudéjar was, felt acutely by the writer and by friends. A number of years ago I essayed a first definition which in part was entirely wrong but in part may serve as an introduction to the matter:

Mudéjar adumbrated

"Mudéjar is a dangerous word, easier to use than to account for. It implies brickwork often, and plaster, being applicable to those forms of art where the material is contemptible and perishing, and the work is the more utterly priceless; it implies cusping always, and usually an interlace of forms, and horseshoe arches where practicable. The character is apparent in the coloured tile and cut plaster and inlaid wood of King Peter's building at Tordesillas and in the Alcázar at Seville; in the modified flamboyant of King Henry's building in the region of Segovia, even to the strange fleeting and restlessly-recurrent yet baffling designs of the vault in the cathedral there; in the brick towers and apses at Toledo and Calatayud. Whenever and wherever it was executed it bears the sign that a different and non-European imagination was at work, in the use of the colour, in the invention of the composition, and in the very shape of the curves and angles. It is visibly unlike to other things, as *art-nouveau* is, and steel structure. It can hardly be defined more exactly; but it can be recognized. It gives always a special pleasure, of delicacy, intricacy, subtlety, incredible elusive refinement. Like other things that came out of the East, it is always a little intoxicating."

Indebtedness

The principal indebtedness to be publicly acknowledged is that to the late D. Vicente Lampérez and to D. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, chiefly for published material, and to my colleague Dr. Ernst Diez for access to his stores of knowledge of the East; to my friend E. H. Lowber for photographs from work extending over many years; also to the Hispanic Society of America for permission to use some of these photographs which are their property. The things themselves have been seen, with only two exceptions, and seen more than once, as well as many more of the same sort. The bibliography of the subject is scanty, and the list here is a selection from what exists; if museums are disparaged it is only after they have been tried. No critic can know so well as the writer how inadequate is this account, nor can the deficiency be made up by long experience and liking. The intention might be best expressed in a passage written by the historian of the Mudéjars of Castile, D. Francisco Fernández y González; they are noble words, to be set like a seal upon the conclusion of a long work:

and

inadequacy

"There is a latent logic deep-seated in the spirit of every race, that shows the reason of its age-long instincts; to interpret and expound that is the historian's subject."

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I

History

Mudéjar art is that of subject Moors living under Christian domination in Spain. They practised the more modest crafts—weaving, carpentry, brick-laying, the moulding and chiselling of plaster; they sat at the wheel of the potter and stood at the forge of the armourer; their literature of tale and legend was written in Arab characters and spoken as a Spanish dialect. In certain regions and cities of Spain, Mudéjar art seems the only one existent, as at Teruel. In other places it is found side by side with Romanesque, or Gothic, or Renaissance, or all three: Sahagun exemplifies the first case, Tordesillas the second, Guadalajara the third, while at Toledo, where every epoch and every style has left some trace, the Mudéjar work is of all the richest and most enchanting. Palaces, churches and convents, in Seville, in Cuellar, in Guadalupe, found the style that suited. From Ferdinand

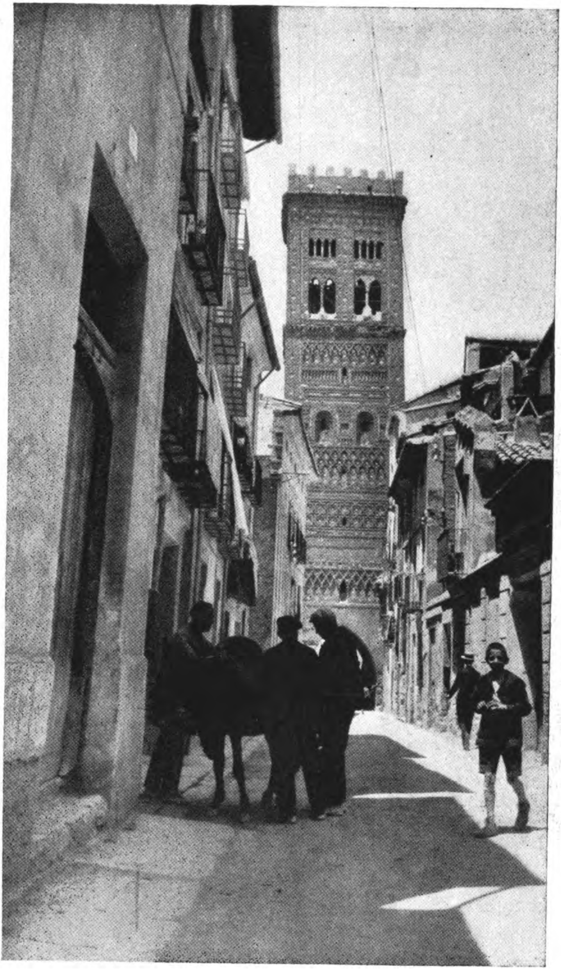
I to Philip II it flourished in Aragon, in the Castiles, and after 1248 in Andalusia, but chiefly between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth.

Where East meets West

Formerly it was customary to define Mudéjar as a hybrid of oriental and Gothic. This account was inadequate and inaccurate. Nor was Mozarabic work always sufficiently distinguished from it, so that the chalice of Silos and the caskets of the Camara Santa have been called Mudéjar, but this is a mistake, for the forms which the goldsmiths of S. Domingo and the Leonese kings used in the tenth century are the same as those found in the Beatus and Bible MSS. and in the building which we call Mozarabic. The one epoch followed hard upon the other in the changing conditions of the Reconquest, but the earliest Mudéjar is no earlier than Romanesque, and most of it is later. S. Baudelio de Berlanga has been considered the last of the Mozarabic churches; perhaps it is the first of the Mudéjar.

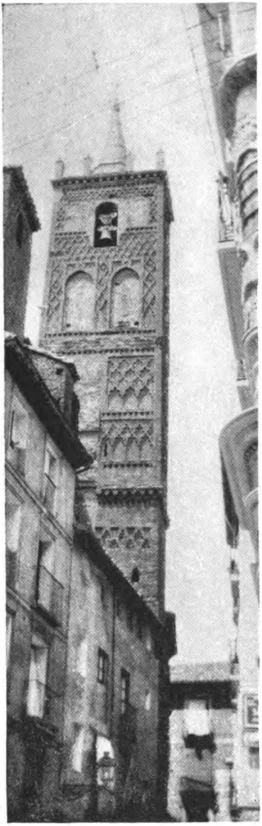
Leon

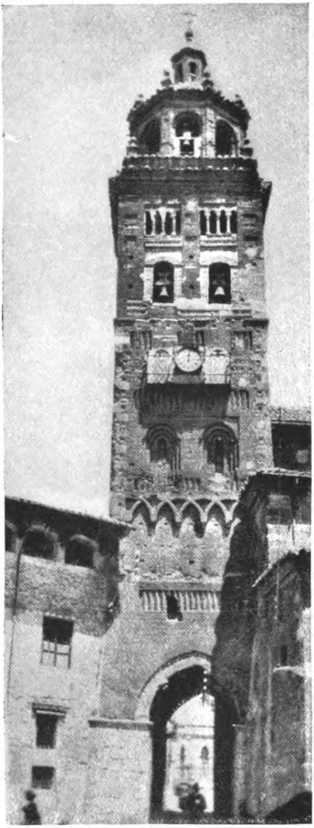
In Leon before the tenth century Mudéjars were living side by side with Mo-



Teruel, Tower of S. Martin

II





Towers

1. Saragossa, S. Gil

2. Teruel, Cathedral

zarabes. When Zamora had been repeopled by Alfonso III workmen were sent up from Toledo to build the walls that a Christian paid for. Further north, near the capital, already existed at Quintana a race of brick-makers, called *mazarifes*, and in Valdesaz a colony of silk-weavers, *tiraceros*, of whom there is no certainty that they were, at any rate in the former case, Christian.[1] At the opening of the twelfth century the husband of the Queen Doña Urraca, Alfonso el Batallador, established in the town of Sahagun Mudéjars from his own kingdom of Aragon, wherewith the French abbot with his Benedictines was ill-content.

An oriental education

Alfonso VI, reared in the eleventh century at the court of Toledo under the protection of the Moslem king, had an education as oriental perhaps as that which Frederic II was to receive in Sicily two centuries later, and when he took Toledo in 1085 the capitulations were intended to make life satisfactory for the Moslems who should elect to remain after the Christians had entered. He called himself indeed Emperor of the Two Religions; Alfonso VIII was to revive the phrase after another hundred years. In Toledo the architecture, the ornament, the building style altogether, before and after the Reconquest, are continuous, unbroken. Authorities are agreed in one thing, if in little else—that at Toledo it is impossible to distinguish between work of the Caliphate and the Mudéjar which succeeded it. Men lived where their fathers were born, and worked as their fathers had learned, and the arts blossomed slowly into new forms, happily. This is one difference between Mudéjar and Mozarabic.

Mozarabes and Mudéjars

The Mozarabes were immigrant; they came up from the south and were grafted in; the Mudéjars were native, they had never left their own cities, their own plough-land, their own brick-fields and the carpenter's shops where they practised the intricate geometry of their *laceria*. With incredible passion they loved the land.

It has been held that the Maragatos, that tall, dark strange people who live lost and lonely among the mountains of Leon, are a race of Berber stock, cut off in the eighth century, left there when Leon and Galicia were gradually cleared of Moslems, who were ultimately Christianized at an unknown epoch. Dreves accepts as authentic an eighth-century hymn attributed to an eponymous king Mauregato. Dozy[2] points out how the Maragato priests in signing documents, abbots and deacons, there wrote their Arabic names. The Mudéjars were not Christianized till the sixteenth century, or thereabouts; in March of 1502 all the Moors of Teruel turned Christians and their mosque became the church of S. Bernard. Seven years before, all the Moors of Albarracin had been converted, similarly, *en masse.*[3] It was a heavy price to pay for patriotism, for the love of one's own land; it proves, rather piteously, to what degree these craftsmen and cultivators were Spaniards.

Maragatos

In old Castile the situation was not perhaps identical; there were good workmen, indeed, between the Cantabrian

Old Castile

Mountains and the Guadarrama and in especial along the line of the Duero, whose tradition was carried on into the Renaissance, but they worked for abbeys and princes, and in the early centuries at any rate very many of them were slaves. When Garci-Fernández, the Count of Castile, offered his daughter Urraca to God in the abbey of Covarrubias, November 24, 978, as a part of the dowry he gave amongst other live-stock, mares and Moors: *cl ieguas et xxx mauros, et xx mauras*.[4]

Among the Miracles of S. Domingo de Silos as they were related at the abbey and recorded by Gonzalo de Berceo in his long, loping quatrains,[5] was the discovery of some Moorish slaves that had escaped in the night and hidden themselves in a cave among the mountains; the abbot went straight to the spot, fetched them back, and the conclusion of the Miracle is that thereafter they were content to stay and work for him. These had previously been shackled and locked up every night, and there are other records

Silos

of Moors who built divers churches working in chains, but alongside we read, for instance in the *Chronicle* of Grimald of Silos,[6] of many who elected to settle on the abbey lands and live protected and labour in peace. He calls them *Saraceni*, these who broke their prison doors and escaped in the night, and they were probably prisoners of war, perhaps a gift of Ferdinand I. They may have been Asiatics, as they were certainly the carvers of the great cloister-capitals, more splendid by far than anything else European of that epoch. There was also a young Moor, who had himself baptized and wanted to stay in the service of the monastery, who was still living when Grimald wrote; this case must be typical of very many. The lonely abbey among the hills was not wholly cut off from the great world outside, for the abbot was a friend and correspondent of Desiderius of Monte Cassino, and held intercourse with Rome and even more easily with Byzance, but it was self-sufficing; building and carving, weaving, gold-smithery, and writing and illumination of manuscripts, all were carried on, and probably work in ivory and enamels. The ivory casket of Silos, indeed, that is now in Burgos, was made, signed and dated at Cuenca,[7] and is to be reckoned as true Moorish. Plenty of Silos work exists, however, and in the arts that were plied at Silos lies something unlike what was made in France, Germany, or Italy, recognizable and definable.

Toedo

For the north of Spain, Toledo was the royal city, the focus of light, and the *foyer* whence brands were carried to rekindle the lamp in all the halls of Europe. Already in the eleventh century the little kingdom was free, splendid and learned. The Caliphate of Cordova had fallen and while the south was to be conquered by the African military empires of the Almoravides and the Almohades the separate Moslem states under the *taifa* kings enjoyed a brief summer comparable to the flowering time of the Greek cities before Philip of Macedon, or the Italian communes before the end of the Renaissance. Indeed, the real Arabs of the Western Caliphate,

A.D. 1031

1087

1146

says Fernández y González, "had always desired to give expansion to their liberal instincts, not only in the elegant sumptuousness of their manners but in the cultivation of the sciences and the arts."[8] Each Mussulman kingdom, though without great political importance, was highly civilized, was full of light, so that an abundant culture and the daily use of all the arts, music and poetry and philosophy, made life like the turning of a prism, where the light is broken up into colour and plays on everything in delicate enhancement of its beauty.

Taifa kingdoms

The Arabs called Toledo the pearl in the necklace. The city that rose in pale loveliness above the Tagus was full of the smell of hidden jasmines and the sound of birds in gilded cages. The brown river that frothed against heavy bridge-piers and lisped above innumerable weirs, was encompassed with gardens on the steep incline where the city streets pitch down, and with groves and parks where the other shore rises again to a high horizon or spreads out in plough-land and meadow.

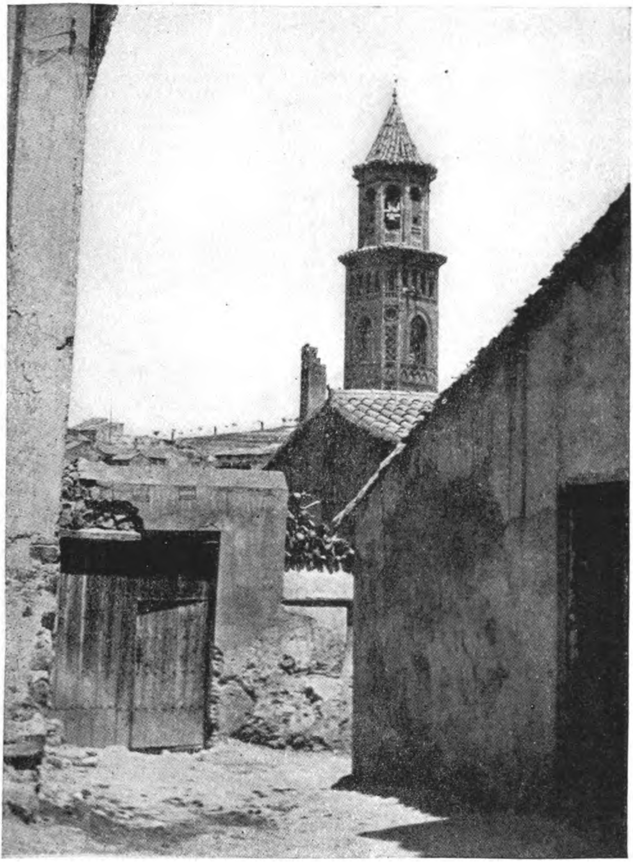
The pearl in the necklace

Moslem

Baths were there, and pleasure palaces embowered in boscage heavy with the weight of roses and stirred by emulous nightingales. The towered city hung against the pale sky; the call to prayer dropped tinkling through the crystalline air; trumpets sang out, and underneath came the throbbing of a drum beaten outside the palace. In their heavy loose dress or their peaked helmets and linked mail, with weapons curved and gold-inlaid, the tall brown nobility swung through the narrow ways noiselessly, arrogantly; they brushed past faquíes and rabbins and sages, mathematicians, jurists, physicians. The Christians lived easily, worshipping in their own churches where under horseshoe arches the offices of the old rite echoed in cadences harsh and unchanging.

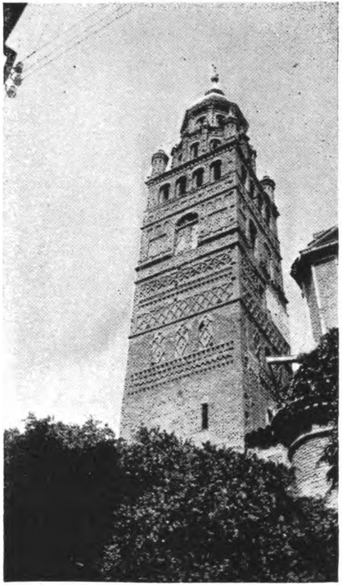
and Christian

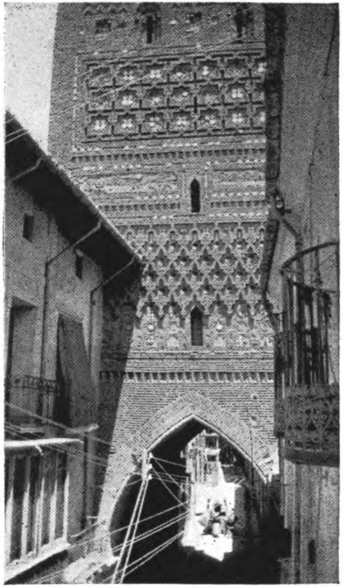
In the twelfth century the knights and nobles were Castilian, the clergy haughtier and perhaps hungrier, certainly less learned; but the town was fuller than ever of scholars of all sorts.[9] Many were native or had come from Seville, Murcia, or Saragossa, others outlanders drawn by the



The Tower of S. Juan in Teruel

IV





Brick Work

1. Tarazona, Cathedral

2. Teruel, El Salvador

imperious hunger of knowledge, Gerard of Cremona and Adelard of Bath, like Plato of Tivoli, who came seeking that which he could not find among the Latins, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and that Daniel of Morley who threw up his work at Paris in despair and "hastened to Toledo as the most famous centre of Arabic science, in order to hear the wiser philosophers of the world." All the learning left from the antique world was locked up in Hebrew and Arabic, and from Spain and Sicily proceeded the instruction and translations which restored it to Europe, from Spain the most and the earliest. Gerbert had been in Catalonia in the tenth century, as Michael Scot was to be in Toledo in the thirteenth; and in the twelfth the names of Mozarabic centres are marked, as by little lights, with the names of famous scholars—at Huesca Petrus Alfonsi was baptized in 1106; at Segovia Robert of Chester was working in 1141; at Tarazona Hugo of Santalla (probably a Leonese) was making translations for Bishop Michael, and somewhere on the Ebro Abbot

Italian and English

Warlock

Ep. 1119–1157

Abbot

and scholar

Ep. 1125–1151

Hugh of Cluny in 1141 encountered Hermann of Carinthia working with Robert and engaged them both, with Master Peter of Toledo, to come to Cluny and help his secretary make a translation of the Koran there. The signature of Toledo is set on many of the most famous versions of Arabic learning and to the Archbishop Raymond is due, in so far as to any one man, the great instauration.

Not only learning but life itself was enriched and vivified for the Christian conquerors. Inheritors of the ancient Visigothic traditions fellows in the faith of the Mozarabic citizens and comrades or competitors in arms with the nobility of Islam who had preceded them and still surrounded them, the Castilians could come into Toledo without a shock as to their appointed rest and their native country and their own natural homes, which they enter unannounced as lords that are certainly expected.

Toledo in the thirteenth century remained unaltered, only more splendid, and no less international. The French knights who lay there all the winter of 1211–12 as the king's guests, cannot have left more than a perceptible mark, though they doubtless carried home something besides their spoils. They were quartered in the groves and gardens on the other side of the river, and the old chronicler grieves for the ruin of park and pleasaunce.

King's guests

There had been, indeed, French knights at the taking of Toledo, with Alfonso VI, and with them perhaps one Kyot[10] a poet who discovered an old book in Arabic and an old Jew to translate it to him and carried back into his own land a story of the Holy Grail. French invaders of Spain, from Charlemagne down to Joseph Bonaparte, have been preoccupied with the baggage even when retreating. The so-called Crusaders of 1212 after sacking Calatrava went home again leaving Spaniards to face the enormous host of the Hagarenes at the place called Las Navas alone. They tried to sack Toledo also on the way back but failed.[11] What they carried home, of Spanish culture and Moslem treasure, we have no way to know.

A.D. 1085

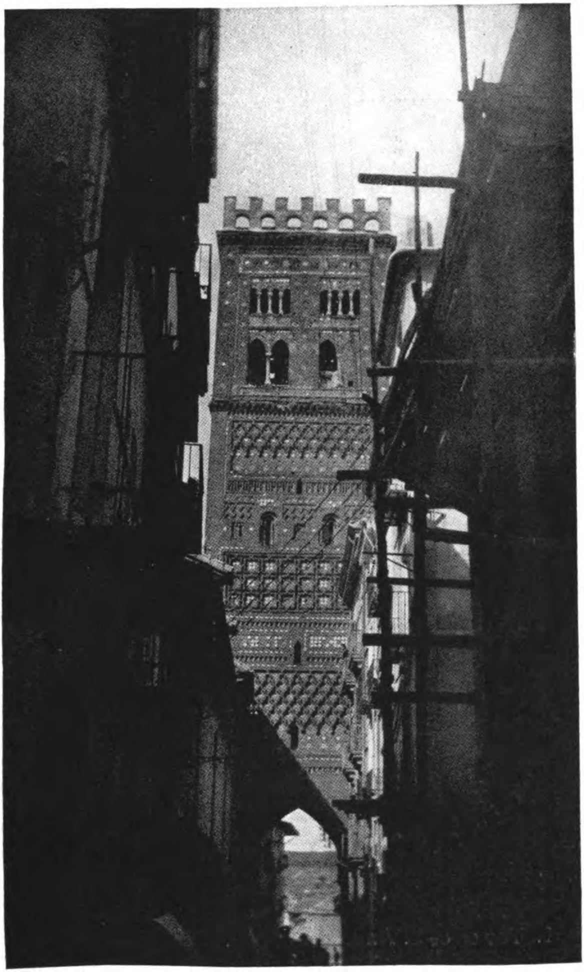
Kyot

Seville

Then in 1248 S. Ferdinand entered Seville, riding with Archbishop Roderick on one hand and on the other the Infant D. Alfonso who was to rule as Alfonso *el Sabio*, the Sage. In Seville the tradition of Hispano-Roman civilization had never died, it had merged into that of the Caliphate and Alfonso was determined to lose neither. Through his insistence was preserved the Giralda which the Moors, in evacuating, would fain have dismantled; through his initiative an immense accumulation of learning was saved that might otherwise have become extinct.

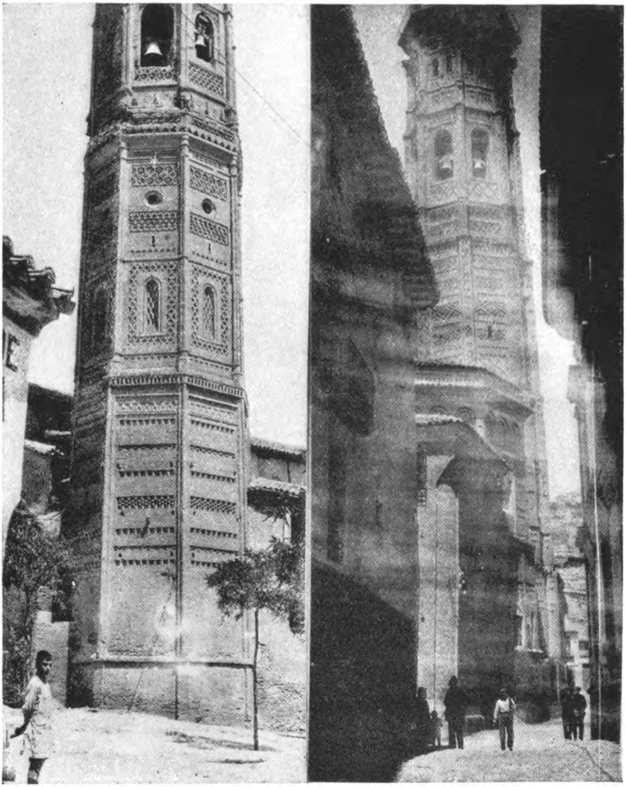
A.D. 1094

The bent of culture here was toward compilation, and the *Coronica General* is only one of his books though it is perhaps the greatest. Moslem and Jewish scholars worked on his staff, incorporating for instance from the Arabic the account by an eye-witness of the Cid's conquest of Valencia. His also are the *Siete Partidas*, which did for law what the Chronicle did for history, and more; there was nothing like them until the *Code Napoléon*. The Alfonsine tables were compiled for him,



Teruel: Tower of El Salvador

VI



Calatayud

1. Tower of S. Andrés 2. Tower of S. Maria

which the Middle Age was to use until its close, and the books on astronomy that reformed the system of Ptolemy and treatises on the astrolabe. Who says astronomy says Arabic, as a rule, here and elsewhere, but actually the translation of Ptolemy was made for the King by Egidius of Parma.[13] Besides these, we have a *Lapidary*, a *Book of Chess*, and the *Cantigas*.

Miniatures

These last three (I have not seen the others) are illustrated with miniatures full of charm and grace in the Gothic manner. Here horseshoe arches alternate with *arcs en tiers-point*, cusped and crocketed; the city gate, the city street show the horseshoe arch I think invariably, but the palace is more often depicted in the fashionable French style of Gothic. The style of the painting also, the figure drawing, the careful delineation of architectural forms, the delicacy of line, with the sharp profiles and coifs and short curled hair, the swaying carriage with its studied elegance, are all derivative if not exclusively from that art which in Paris is called miniature, yet from what is called nowadays the international style. Yet nothing is ever quite French, or quite Italian. In the *Book of Chess* may be found interiors of great interest for the student of manners—sometimes courtiers play, sometimes the king and a Moor, sometimes Moors together, in a public place or in the women's quarters. The turban and the open crown fleur-de-lysée mark the meeting of south and north. Alfonso VI had lived like an emir; Alfonso X would fain have lived as an emperor. In the event, he lived rather like his predecessor in Seville, the last Spanish-born king, al-Mutamid, happier in that his devotion was fixed upon the Blessed Virgin S. Mary and not upon Itimad who was called Rumaikia. His ending was other, but his commentary might have been the same:[18]

Way of life

And we—that dreamed youth's blade
would never rust,
Hoped wells from the mirage, roses
from the sand—
The riddle of the world shall under-
stand
And put on wisdom with the robe of
dust.

Life in Seville has always centered about the *patio*, which constitutes the women's quarters, and the old Alcázar was rebuilt by the King D. Pedro to make a home for himself, Doña Maria de Padilla, and their children. Perhaps the most exquisite Mudéjar work in Spain was evoked by D. Pedro's devotion, some of it still hidden away in the convent palaces of the north, at Astudillo and Tordesillas. But, indeed, the private life of royalty in Leon and Castile seems to have been always like that of the Arabian Nights, surrounded by simple persons who could accept and bestow a personal affection, sometimes slaves, often Moslems. The only real affection of which I read in history among the Castilian nobility, was the love for D. Juan II of the Master of Santiago, D. Alvaro de Luna, and that brought him to the scaffold. The unhappy King D. Enrique IV who rebuilt and adorned sumptuously the Alcázar of Segovia in a rich Mudéjar style that incorporates some traits of northern Spanish Gothic and the dawning Renaissance, lived no otherwise

in Seville

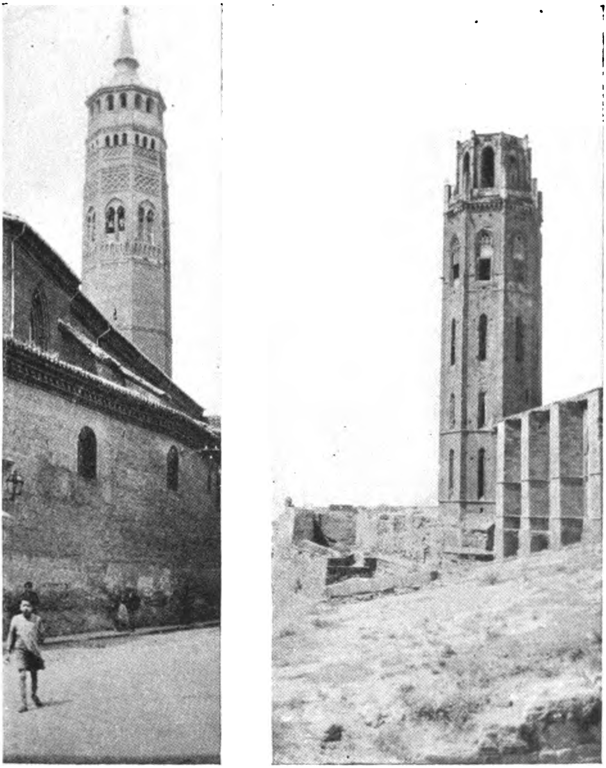
and the Castiles

than like his ancestors upon the same throne. The great nobles made it an accusation against him, as against the King D. Pedro, because in both cases they were engaged in the northern and feudal tradition, and would have liked to emulate the Dukes of York and of Burgundy, the Counts of Flanders and Earls of Northumberland, who lived in virtual independence of a suzeranity acknowledged only for the sake of splendour at court or of support in civil war. The Trastamaras and Ayalas, the Pachecos and Zuñigas, were simply rationalizing their rebellion. A good German knight who knew nothing about Spain but like other tourists believed all he was told, saw ways to which he was unaccustomed and was scandalized correspondingly. There is little difference in attitude between Liutprand of Cremona visiting the Byzantine court in the ninth century, and Lev von Rozmital at that of Castile in the fifteenth. Historians have transcribed his opinions when they should have confined themselves to his observations. The observations prove that the ordinary way of

always half-Moslem

Cf. Pre-Rom. 150, 154

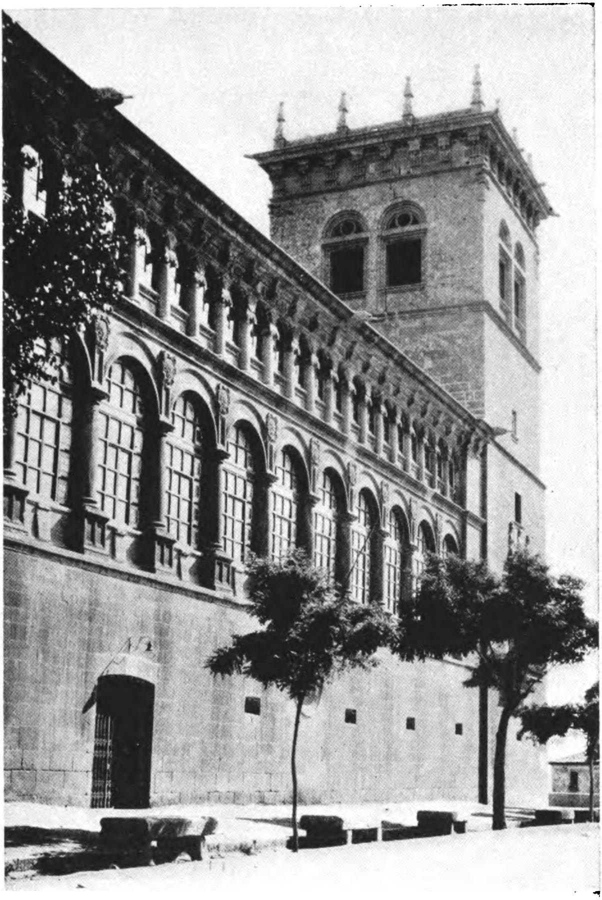
VII



Towers

1. Saragossa, S. Pablo 2. Lérida, Cathedral

VIII



The Palace of the Counts of Gomara, in Soria life in Spain had not altered in eight hundred years, neither in Seville nor in Toledo nor in Castile. Only at the coming of "the Fleming," Charles V, who was to build a Renaissance palace into a corner of the Alhambra with a superb circular court that could never be occupied, so windy is it in winter and in summer so arid and incandescent, was the north able to wreak itself upon the south and ultimately to abolish the old way of life.

Aragon

The kingdom of Aragon in the latter Middle Age comprized also Catalonia, Valencia and all the Marca Hispanica; a little earlier it included likewise Navarre and the Rioja. Just a hundred years after that donation of the Count of Castile already cited Alfonso VI was countersigning the *fueros* of Nájera, which reckoned the life of a Saracen slave at half the cost of an ox. A *fuero* is a sort of charter like that the barons of England wrested from John Lackland—it includes laws and rights; the nobility of a kingdom or the folk of a commune embodied ancient use or new-won liberties therein, the King

Fueros

signed, and his successors swore to observe. The *fuero* of Sepúlveda, for instance, was a good one, and the men of Teruel selected that when they established their city in 1176. Now the *fuero* of Jaca was given by the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramírez, in 1067; he was an enlightened prince, with a strong predilection for Moslem culture, who signed his name in Arabic characters, and he provided expressly that "if anyone shall take in pledge, from his neighbour, a Saracen or a Saraceness, that person shall be deposited in the king's palace, and the owner shall give him bread and water *quia est homo et non debet ieiunare sicut bestia.*[14]

It is not easy to say precisely why, throughout the kingdom of Aragon and even to its farthest boundaries, the Mudéjars flourished so freely. It may be due to the feudal system, which penetrated more deeply into life in Aragon and the Spanish March and made the Moors more important, essential indeed for all occupations except soldiering. Those whom Quadrado calls the Pyrenean refugees, by which he means the king, his nobles, and their feudatories and men-at-arms, left the cultivating of the soil to its ancient owners who loved it. Little by little as time went on, these Moors, who had taken charge completely of agriculture as the Jews had taken over commerce, devoted themselves also to the arts, to learning, to law and medicine, along with the Jews. For the king they were indispensable and in the teeth of the Pope's protest D. Jaime I left the men of the country he was reconquering in free exercise of their religion. They had to listen to sermons and to live apart from Christians, but they lived free and unafraid. Especially he took under his peculiar protection the converts from Islam, called *conversos*, their goods and their good name, and no man might call them renegades under penalty of a fine. In the successive reigns down to that of Ferdinand who elected to be called the Catholic, they flourished and increased, being neither extirpated nor absorbed, and the art of Aragon is there to testify to the wisdom of this policy. The nobility protected

With so-called Crusaders invading

Mudéjars as afterwards Moriscos, to the point of taking up arms against the king, when expulsion was intended, lest their estates should be left to run wild, and of protesting, for long not in vain, against the establishment of the Inquisition which menaced the Mudéjars while it threatened their own *fueros*, their chartered liberties. The populace, hating the Moslem artificers, may have welcomed the Inquisition as the lesser bourgeoisie of Italy acclaimed Mussolini, but the best building in Aragon was done by those of the circumcision. As late as the sixteenth century when the town clock-tower of Saragossa was building, along with Gabriel Gombao and Juan de Sariñena worked a Jew and two Moors.

Mudéjar style

Mudéjar is perhaps the only mediaeval art in Europe which is not primarily ecclesiastical, and the monuments which survive are often secular and princely, or at other times accessory though exquisite. The style is not monumental but decorative. The elements are oriental, but they are also humble—for instance, the capitals of the cloister at Silos, though executed indubitably by Moorish slaves, must be considered as Romanesque and not Mudéjar. The towers of Teruel are built of brick and adorned with colonnettes of coloured tile, green, scarlet and old-turquoise, under the cusped and interlacing arches. The palace at the heart of the Alcázar of Seville is devised all of plaster, cast and chiselled till with the workmanship the walls are more precious than marble—its very name has no equivalent in other tongues. *Palacio de Yeseria*, it is called, "of the art of plaster." Loveliest when it was touched with Gothic, the style was always native-born, but it had its ancestry in the East.

Kings who prized it

The most romantic and tragic of the Castilian kings are involved in its history and found their delight in its beauty, the King D. Pedro I, who built once and again for Maria de Padilla, the King D. Enrique IV who found in Segovia the city of his predilection. The style in Toledo is what marks Toledo as a place apart, different from Bruges or Perugia or Nuremberg or Palermo. It is like Siena: they two, in all

Europe, stand alone; and they two alone have known something that lies at the heart of the East.

Tolerance

The Spanish temper is made up of antinomies: passion and irony for instance coexist in it, and in Spanish art realism and extravagance, and in the Spanish character fanaticism and tolerance. The thirst of martyrdom, the fallacy of persecution, the missionary ardour, are written across the whole history of Spain, but, on the other hand, the virtue of tolerance was understood there as nowhere else in Europe, throughout the entire Middle Age, and from the Councils of Toledo to the Council of Trent, the main struggle of the Inquisition was not with Jews or Lutherans, it was with tolerance. And this Mudéjar art, humble, delicate, and alas! too fugitive, is the flower and the memorial of that long epoch of racial kindliness, with tolerance not only ideal but matter of course.

II

Characteristic Features

SPANISH architecture owes to Mudéjar a number of its most characteristic traits: certain features in buildings, certain materials in use, certain forms in designing. These should perhaps be enumerated briefly, before passing on to define and explain the regional styles of which four or five may easily be distinguished.

§ 1

Towers

Two features are especially characteristic: the single belfry towers attached to churches which form a separate architectural member, and the high loggias which look abroad from castles and palaces, called *adarve* or *azotea*. The towers may be taken first: they are famous at Teruel, at Calatayud, at Daroca and Saragossa and Tarazona and in and about Toledo.

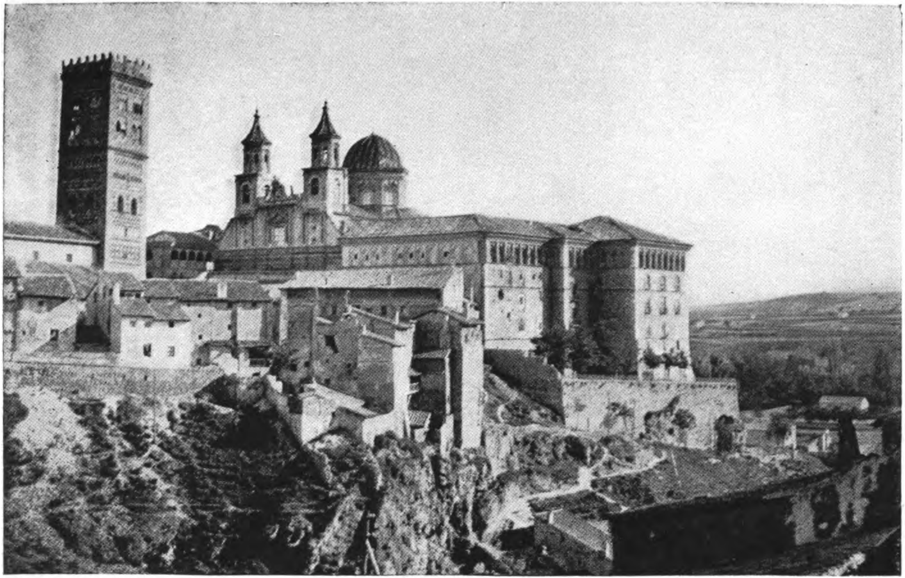
Plate V

Those of Teruel are the earliest and the finest. In four cases streets run underneath—by S. Martin, El Salvador, S. Pedro

Teruel

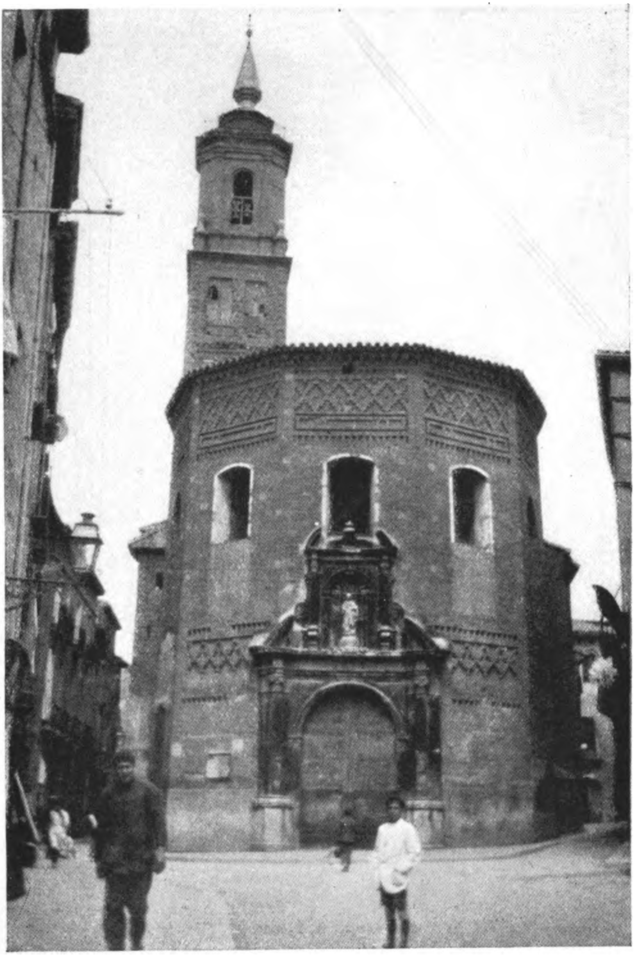
and the cathedral—and all these may be dated in the thirteenth century. There is another tower, square below but topped with two octagonal stages perhaps in the seventeenth century; and in a sixth which stands in a suburb near the aqueduct the lowest stage is square, in the next the corners are chamfered and patterned, and the highest stage is octagonal, this tower, like that just mentioned, having a neat conical roof of tile.

The towers of Teruel are original building, so to speak. The town having been founded in 1176 and the church of El Salvador in 1186, the tower would thus be under construction at the opening of the thirteenth century. The parishes united to pay for the building. "The founders of the city built nine parish churches," says Quadrado,[1] "eight in a circle following the circuit of the walls and the ninth in the centre, which was therefore called S. Maria de Media Vila." Something in the relation of these towers to the fortifications may have brought about the peculiarity of setting them astride of a street. They



A Grand Mass of Conventual Buildings

X



Saragossa, Apse of La Magdalena

have battlements, and one a lantern. Certain it is that they stand thus and have always stood; the cathedral, which is contemporary, is the same way, and at Daroca and Alarcón, both in this part of Aragon, the same occurs, perhaps in imitation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. **Foreign parallels** Now, there is a town called Schwarz-Rheindorf lying on an ancient road of travel where such a tower still stands and where the churches show traits which must be traced to Armenia and the Christian East. Of the two similar cases which I recall in Italy, at Trani and Modena, Trani was a great entrepôt of the Crusaders, while at Modena they had stopped also as the eleventh century ended and left their sign in the Arthurian legend carved on a cathedral door.[1] It may be that there is a Syrian prototype.

However this is, the square minaret tower came to Spain as it had come to **Moslem parallels** Cairo, from a Syrian source, and it came by way of Northern Africa. At Cordova[2] the earliest minaret of the Great Mosque 793–96 and that which later replaced it, likewise 945

941 the minaret at Medina Azzahra not very far away, were all square. So was the one

1007 at the Kala'a[4] of the Beni Hammad in Africa which looks more Mesopotamian. Then toward the close of the twelfth century three great minarets were built by a single master—Geber of Seville—the Hassan tower at Rabat (1195–98), the Kutubiya at Marrakesh (1197), and the Giralda at Seville[5] (1195–98).

At this time Teruel was lost to the Moors, but there were plenty of Moslems in the countryside to rebuild for their Aragonese masters in that identical style. They merely omitted the lantern and set battle-

Plate I ments for use, not for ornament. The towers of El Salvador, S. Martin (repaired in 1549), S. Pedro (rebuilt in 1795), and the

Plate II cathedral (altered 1685–1703) were all alike in style and nearly contemporary. The tower of S. Andrés, set over the portal, was likewise rectangular but unorna-

Plate III mented. The belfry of S. John was begun in 1340[6] and this, with its attempt at an octagonal second story, already described,[7] must be referred to the change in style among the minarets of Cairo[7] which was accomplished between 1303 and 1336.

Pyramidal roofs

Plate XXIX

The pyramidal tiled roof which crowns the towers of S. Andrés and S. Juan and most of the other lanterns, belfries, and domestic towers in Teruel, and which replaces the little dome that is so characteristic at Marrakęsh and Cairo, testifies doubtless to the structural timidity of the builders, but it is an ancient device in these parts. It is common in the pictures of the Bible of Ripoll,[8] written about the year 1000 in Catalonia.

"Bible of Farfa"

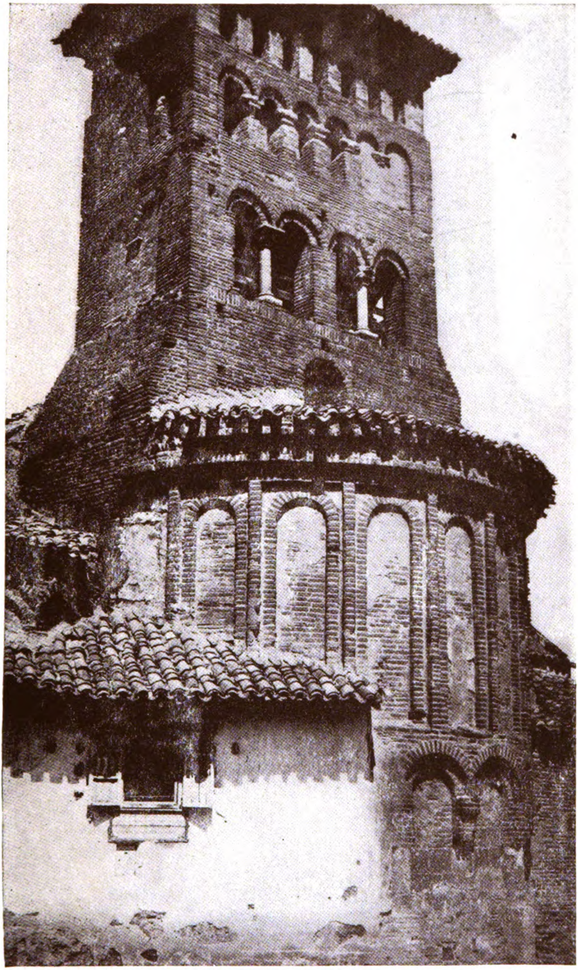
Cf. Plate LXXXVIII

The ornament consists of two sorts: brick-work patterning in relief, and inlay in polychrome of tiles. The brick ornament includes motives as simple and as aged as the saw-tooth which occurs at Sarvistan, a sort of wave or double chevron, interlacing intricate arcades that are called in Spanish by the heraldic word *angrelado* which is in English "engrailed," and a rectangular motive of eight-pointed stars arranged in two and three parallel rows, their outlines interlaced and running on. This pattern I have not found elsewhere in Mudéjar brick work; the double chevron is used also on the cathedral at Tarazona; the sawtooth everywhere, which makes it valueless for dating.

Coloured colonnettes

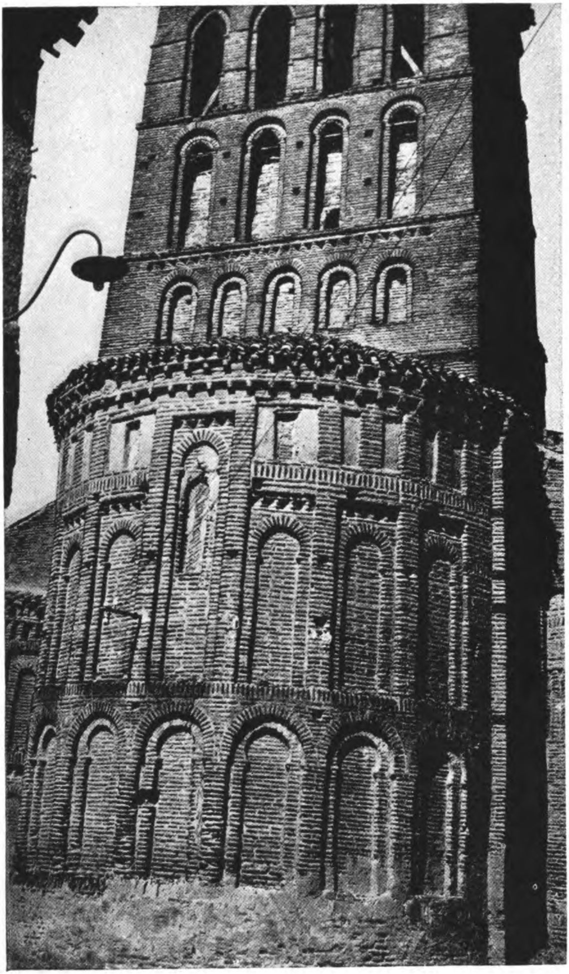
Another ornament of peculiar beauty was devised to simulate the colonnettes of a marble region like Lucca; hollow tubes of terra cotta, like drain pipes, were set one on the other to carry the interlacing brick arches, and also, at S. Martin, in the jambs of the lower range of windows. The hues were scarlet, green, strong deep blue, and old turquoise—that shade which may be called either green or blue. This is a Mesopotamian scale of colour. Almost all of these tubes have disappeared now; more is left of the flat tiling inlaid in the geometric motives, and the saucer-like disks used instead of stars on El Salvador.

The effect is indescribable in richness and beauty, with the multiplied enhancements of colour, design, and shadow-patterning. The work at Teruel is not only the earliest as it stands but incomparably the finest in Spain. Nothing of



Sahagun, S. Tirso

XII



Sahagun, S. Lorenzo

the sort in Andalusia remains which can bear comparison.

Tarazona

Plate IV

Some work of the thirteenth century survives at Tarazona[9] in the lower part of the cathedral tower and in that of La Magdalena. The patterns here are simpler and have less enrichment, and I think no tiles. The upper part of the cathedral tower was rebuilt in the sixteenth century and conforms to the dome, but it represents the earlier disposition with two octagonal stages, diminishing in size, and a rudimentary dome and finials. The Magdalena is earlier than the cathedral (which was begun in 1235) and the tower, though wanting an octagonal stage, has a well-developed dome-like cap that corresponds to those which were developed at Cairo[10] between 1157 and 1242. Since records enough survive, from these parts, to prove that the belfry was commenced after the church, the dates will serve to show that the Mauretanian or North African type, to which these still approximate, was modified by the Cairene.

At Saragossa the earliest surviving

Saragossa

Mesopotamia and Syria

Reg. 1193–1218

Plate II Cf. Plate VII

towers seem to be of the fourteenth century, and here at last appears the octagon in the belfry of S. Pablo. The source of this must be Asiatic. The Mesopotamian minarets,[11] commencing in the twelfth century, set a cylindrical shaft upon a lofty tower stage which by the middle of the century was octagonal, till at Anah the octagon was the whole, while at Balis, on the Syrian side of the desert, Saladin's brother just then had carried the type thither, which was repeated at Aleppo in stone. The history of Saragossa,[12] for so long an independent Moslem principality with Alexandrian and Syrian export trade, explains the direction as well as the importance of the Eastern influence. Of the other towers which remain there, those of S. Gil and S. Miguel are square, richly patterned, and divided into successive stages by cornices which project enough to cast strong shadows, while that of the Magdalena, though fourteenth-century work like the others, has less relief, has remains of tile still adhering, and looks as though it had once been square-topped

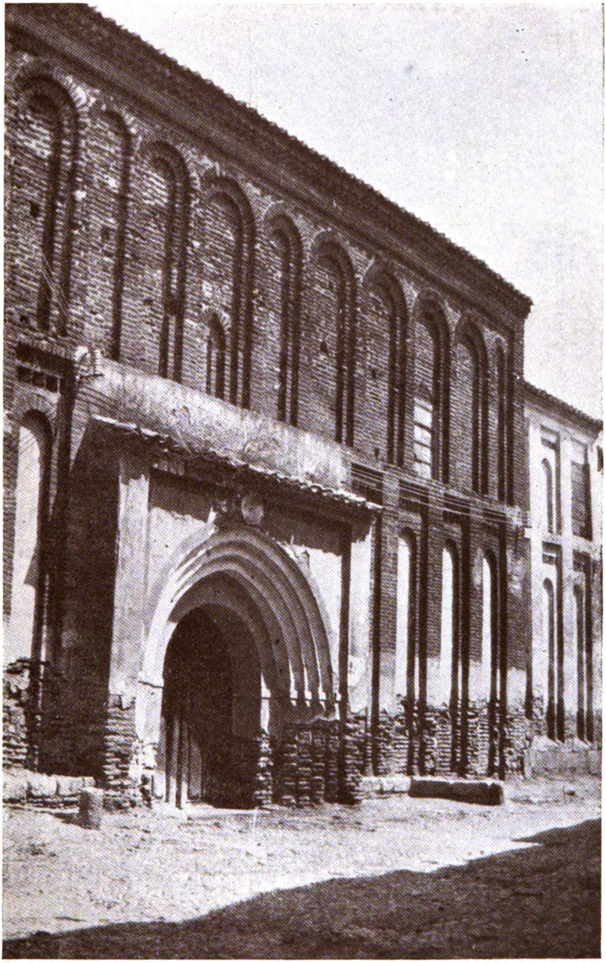
Also Mauretania

like those of Teruel. The present belfry stage is not only later but unnecessary to the composition. On the Mauretanian towers[13] of the fourteenth century, for instance at Tlemcen and at Fez, the decoration is differently distributed, in rectangles taller than their breadth and in larger masses. The need of openings for bells in the Spanish towers may have broken up the masses and enforced smaller units—as may be seen in the tower of S. Salvador at Daroca for instance—but does not wholly account for the delicate variety and play of proportional relations.

Torre Nueva

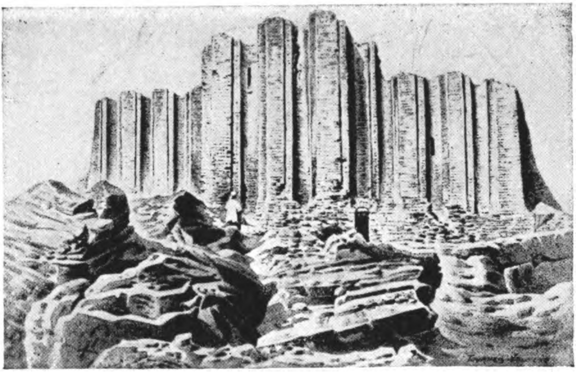
The Torre Nueva of Saragossa,[14] though a clock-tower, must be considered with the rest. It was begun in 1504, the master of the work being Gabriel Gombao and his assistants Juan de Sariñena (from a Mudéjar town), the Jew Ince de Gali, and the Moors Ezmel Ballabar and Master Monferriz. On a tall octagonal plinth is set a stage composed like an eight-pointed star with re-entrant angles in the middle of each side and a sharp-angled buttress filling the centre of these angles—a sixteen-pointed star with eight major and eight minor points, Quadrado calls it. Above this the eight faces of the plinth are resumed, but pierced turrets run up the angles which, with the deeply-moulded window openings in each story, carry on the wave-like jutting and retreating of the silhouette. It was 300 feet tall and 45 across and in 1512 the bells were hung, for it was finished. Now I know of but one place on earth where Master Monferriz could have seen the likeness of such a tower and that was where Mahmud of Ghazna lay buried outside the gates of his city.[15] The Spanish Semites were far-travelers and tireless and Ghazna lies on a main caravan road; it is not improbable that he should have seen the strange and lofty structure and brought back in memory the silhouette, to which he adapted such means which lay at hand, for instance the angle-turrets already used at Calatayud. This aspect of the tower is unparalleled in Europe, but the geometry of the plan had already been used by Mudéjar builders to set out the ribbing of their domes by superimposing

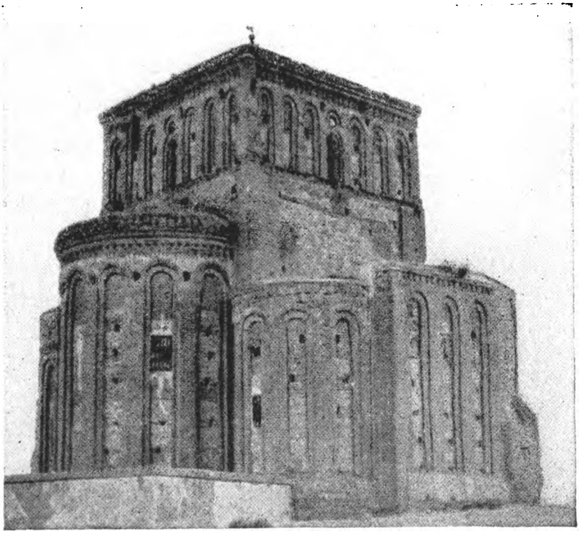
Ghazna



Toro, S. Lorenzo

XIV





1. Kala'a of the Beni Hammad
2. La Lugareja of Arévalo

two squares and turning one at an angle of 45°.

Angle of 45°

Cf. Gil de Siloe's Miraflores Tombs

The plan of both towers at Ghazna is made by two equal and concentric squares that cut each other at 45°—Lampérez's plan of the Torre Nueva shows four such squares which describe an octagon, the middle portion of the sides of two of them tracing the cardinal and diagonal faces respectively and the other two being tangential to the angles. Inside of the octagon is another octagon, and the staircase mounts between the outer and inner walls. This is neat and simple geometry, easy for anyone who had seen the towers, of Ghazna. It was, if not Monferriz, then the Jew Ince, for Jews were plenty at Ghazna; in the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela[16] reported 80,000 of them. My reading of the building staff would be that Gabriel Gombao was appointed by his friends of the municipality and drew a salary, while the Mudéjars and the Jews did the work.

Like the shadow of a tree on snow, the memory of minarets lay on the imagination in Saragossa. The belfry of the Seo, the belfry of the Pilar repeat in Renaissance forms these shiftings and modulations from polygon to polygon with open arcading high up, that had been perfected in Cairo before the fourteenth century was over.

Calatayud Calatayud like Daroca and Teruel was a free city—community is the Spanish name—and was indeed formed earlier than the other two, in 1130.[17] The famous towers, **Plate VI** however, are later, at any rate in their upper portions. It is hard to date brick work where the same pattern is used century after century. For instance, S. Maria of Calatayud was built in the thirteenth century and a buttress of patterned brick work yet flanks the marble sculptured portal-structure which was inserted in the sixteenth, under such a purely Moorish wooden roof as you may see at Segovia and Marrakesh; the lozenge-patterns on the buttress are repeated on the tower above toothed cornice-courses like those at Saragossa. **Octagonal** Yet the towers are octagonal and up every angle run flat pilasters at S. Maria, while at S. Andrés in the middle stage these become true colonnettes, with bases and capitals.

Fellow-countrymen to John of Sariñena were Pedro de Ruesta who reared an hexagonal belfry at Barbastro in the sixteenth century to replace the Mudéjar one which French invaders had burned in the fourteenth, and the unknown master who devised that, still standing, at Pertusa, in 1575, which repeats in pure Renaissance the canon of Calatayud.[18] From S. Juan of Teruel (XIV c.) to those of Calatayud (XV c.) and to the Torre Nueva of Saragossa (early XVI c.), thence to the two so little known in upper Aragon, the progression should probably be traced; at any rate the clock-tower of Calatayud was built in the fifteenth century by Maese Farache—Mudéjar by his name.

and hexagonal

This single group of towers has been considered at such length because of their significance and their beauty both. They constitute a book wherein a man may read strange history.

The Catalan belfries, octagonal, stone-built, come probably from the same Syrian-

Mesopotamian regions; at any rate Aleppo had one in 1318 and the Catalans in the fourteenth century were surprisingly at home in the East. At Lérida[19] the tower (begun before 1397 and finished before 1416) simply *looks like* those of the Eastern Caliphate, and it is hard to go behind the sort of assurance which that instinctive judgement conveys. The cathedral is full of Mudéjar carving, and the archives contain manuscripts in the same style as the Bibles of Roda and Ripoll, which one is tempted to name proto-Mudéjar. Lérida is a seat of Mudéjar art, Lérida belfry is Mudéjar building, and from it was copied the Miguelete of Valencia when Pedro Balaguer was sent up to inspect it before setting to work in 1414. The greater number of Catalan belfries, however, are classed simply as Gothic, with which we have no concern here.

Lérida
Plate VII

The towers of Toledo[20] and the Tagus region are quite other than these, and in truth less interesting. They are always rectangular, crowned with a low tiled pyramid, opening with two or three lights in

Toledo and the Tagus

the top story for the bells and with fewer windows or only loopholes further down. Between the outer wall and another within, the staircase mounts, but not all the way; these towers were used for defense upon occasion. String courses of slight projection mark off the stages and frame, usually, a shallow band of decoration just below the bell chamber—arches, cusped or plain, set in a row or interlaced in the pattern that we call engrailment, which forms a sort of lozenge among the crossing curves. Eaves-brackets carry the roof-edge, and the lower loophole windows are sometimes framed in a sunken rectangle. All this makes plenty of shadow-pattern. The very substance of the wall is patterned moreover for the building material is brick used in combination with a sort of rubble, the thin bricks laid about three deep in frequent horizontal courses and solid at the corners and around openings. The effect is not unlike the use of brick and stone in Greek churches.

Decoration

Brick work

The oldest of them is Santiago del Arrabal, of which the lowest stage with its horseshoe ajimez window is dated from the Caliphate; the least known is that of the Convento de la Concepcion Franciscana with strong fluted eaves-brackets, pointed bulging horseshoe arches coupled under a paired *arabâ*, and engrailments cusped and salient that give a sort of roughness which is very rich.[21] The famous tower of Illescas is covered all the way up with blind arcading; it is very admirable in its sequence of receding planes, cusped orders and sunken framing, arcades on colonnettes and saw-tooth or interlaced enrichments, but it is entirely unlike the towers of Toledo.

I had almost written "They are more European," but how? They are, indeed, more Romanesque, for they are the outcome of a deliberate mingling of strains **Hybrid** Castilian and Arab, of the Burgundian of Count Raymond and Bishop Bernard with the style that Romans, Visigoths, and Berbers had bequeathed. But unlike the church-towers of Segovia for which the **Spanish** Templars brought the idea from Syrian churches,[22] these stand beside the churches, like minarets, yet. They have no parallels in France.

Of the detached campanili in Italy some of the fourteenth century, like Florence and Siena, are borrowed from Pisa or Lucca which were in direct contact with the East; the others, earlier, stand along the east coast marking it from Venice and Murano and Torcello, past Pomposa, Forlì, and Fano down into the Basilicate, and all are lighthouse towers. Ravenna affords the only exception, and for those two ninth-century cylindrical towers reared among the marshes to guard Byzantine churches, we must seek an origin in the lands of the Eastern Empire and the Eastern Caliphate, as surely as for the west-coast and Sicilian group, or for the early Tuscan, where a twelfth-century poet was lamenting that Pisa[22] was delivered over to Moors, Indians and Turks.

and Italian

The East throws shadows

Architecturally and historically, then, it is best to consider the Toledan towers as Mudéjar. The churches of Andalusia are surprising always with blank outsides and that odd Gothic discomfortable air which marks everything in Seville which is neither Moslem nor Renaissance. But the towers of All Saints and S. Catharine and most of all S. Mark's, look back to the Mauretanian model and cannot quite be spoiled. Some of them actually antedate the Reconquest and must be left aside as Berber.[24]

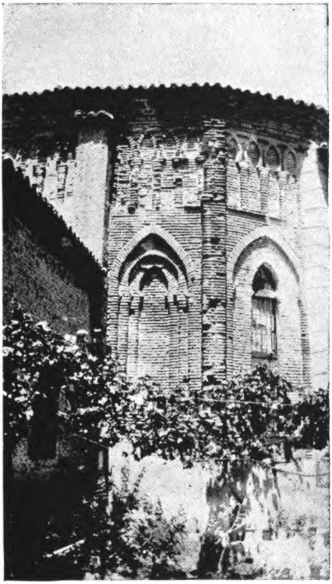
Andalusian

A.D. 1248

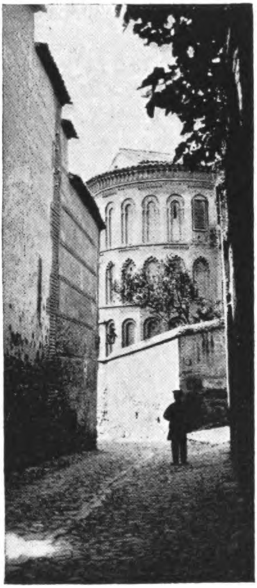
§ 2

Galleries

The *azotea* or high open gallery is as typically and exclusively Spanish as the sort of church tower which has been discussed at Teruel and at Seville. In Italy we notice the loggia whenever Giotto paints a city, or Lorenzetti, or Angelico. In England an important feature in every great house was the long gallery, high up, wherein to take exercise on rainy days and to hang pictures; Bacon makes provision for it when he writes *Of Building*. In Spain the traveler has seen the palace of Monterey at Salamanca, that of the Lunas at Saragossa, the Casa Palmer at Palma in Mallorca. It was a device which lent dignity and beauty and privacy to the

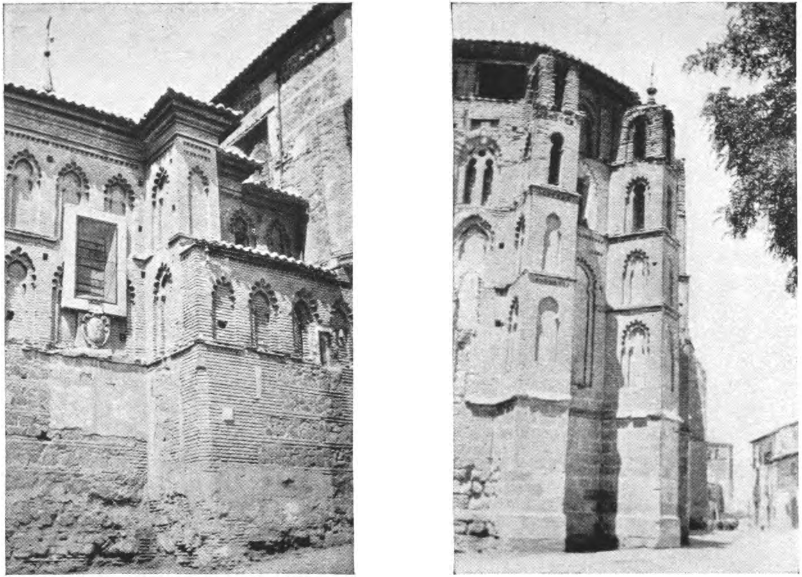


1. S. Fé, Toledo



2. S. Bartolomé

XVI



Cusped Arches

1. Toledo, S. Isabel

2. Peñafiel, S. Pablo

noble life. In the seventeenth century great ladies were recommended to hear their Mass in their private oratory and take their walks in their own *azotea,* since a woman was always better at home than abroad, but that was a Jesuit invention. To take the sun in winter, to enjoy a shade and cool air in summer, it was for everyone a necessity. In Cordova and Seville the *patio* was where the life went on, but the climate of the north made this impossible. Various sources have been sought for the architectural invention: the battlemented walls of castles, or the wooden galleries or *hourdes* corbelled out from these in France, or the occupancy of the roofs in eastern cities like Jerusalem and Ispahan and Bagdad, but no derivation is needed. The thing is simply inevitable and strictly Spanish.

Cf. Seminario Salamanca

The *adarve* or *azotea* is not an upper cloister; that would open upon the *patio*, and indeed in many cities and regions the two-storied or three-storied cloister served the same purpose, in Toledo and Valladolid and Burgos, and in convents like Val de

Requisites

Dios and Veruela and Guadalupe. Two things are required by definition: the *adarve* must be high up with solid wall below, and it must have a view. It is rare in the Castiles except in particular regions, rare in Galicia, in Navarre. It is found in Aragon; in Salamanca and along the Silver Road; on the Northern Road which runs from Madrid to the Ebro along which are strung Alcalá and Guadalajara and Medinacoeli.

The house of the Guzmans in the city of Leon offers an unexpected example, but he who built it was bishop of Calahorra, and doubtless brought home the idea from his see. In the city of the Conquistadores, Trujillo, the Military Orders probably introduced the form from Alcañiz. In Valencia as in Ubeda it occurs in building specifically Mudéjar. In short, it is a Mudéjar feature, which came to a sudden and splendid flowering in the sixteenth century.

Some earlier examples may be seen in Aragon and on the east coast, lower, plainer, that look like an adaptation to secular use of the Lombard eaves-gallery that is so striking and so recognizable a feature of the Catalan Romanesque. In a house of Tarragona and in the Torre Palaresa the plain arched openings might be intended to admit sun and wind, used for drying linen or storing provisions. At Ayerbe the sixteenth-century palace of Urries is stone architecture and the arches are of two orders, in Fraga they are of three, the multiplied mouldings and imposts and string-courses suiting well the brick building. There is one of the same sort at Barbastro.

c. 1527

At Saragossa, the Palacio Zaporta was built by a banker whose family were Christian Jews, and who was ennobled in 1542; it was perhaps the most beautiful in Spain. The façade was of brick with magnificent eaves-timbering of carpentry; the *patio* of plaster work from the hand of the sculptor Tudelilla; the arches of the outer gallery seem to have been designed with the complicated curves of Isabellan Gothic. The palace of the lordly House of Luna was built in the middle of the sixteenth century

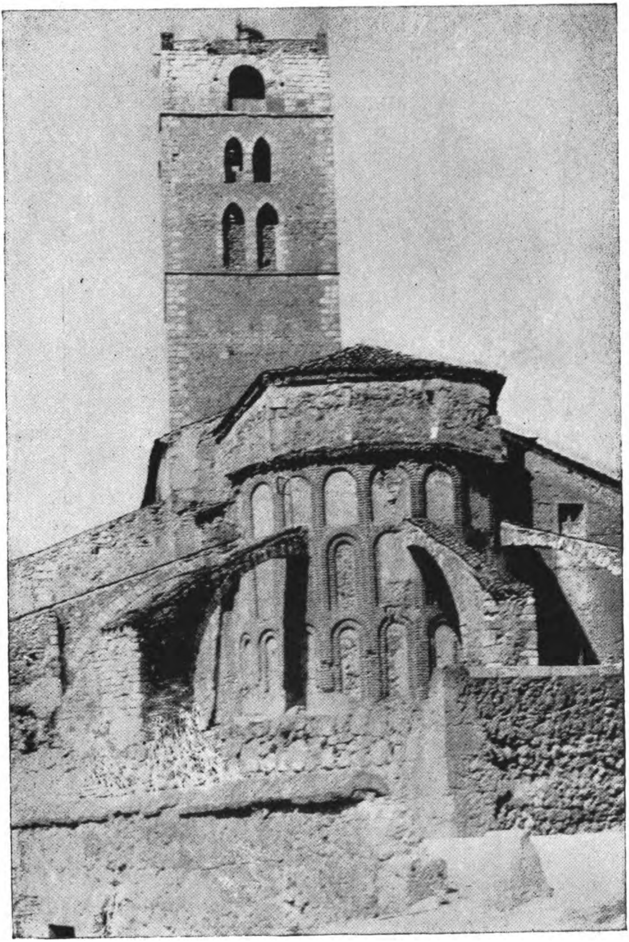
Saragossa

Plate VIII

in the characteristic way with square towers flush with the façade at either end, and the gallery running across and between these; the Pardo palace, built between 1550 and 1570 but altered now, the *Casa de la Real Maestranza*, the Guara palace, and others, all show the type constant.

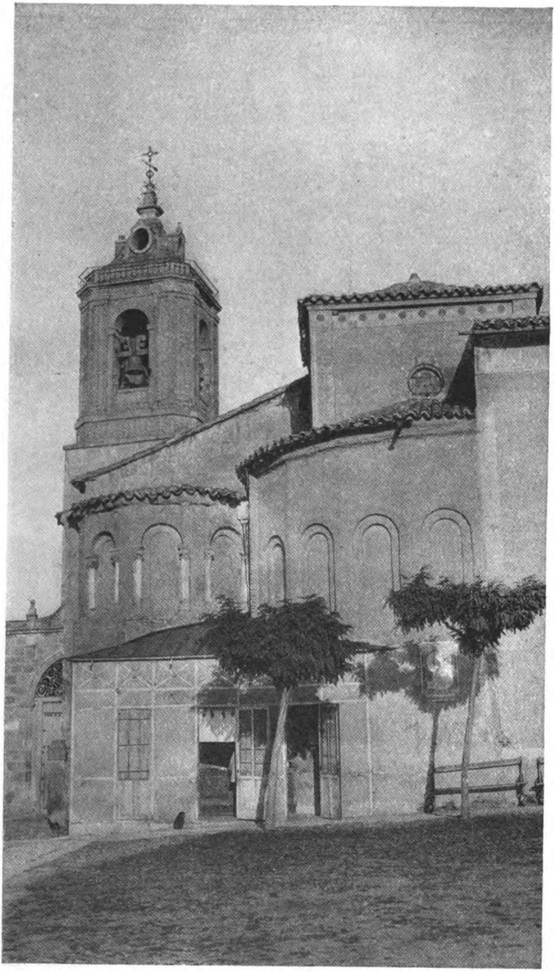
Salamanca In Salamanca the style is not the only one, but famous examples exist: that of Monterey (1539), in which the arcade does not cross the angle-towers but reappears in them a story higher, that of Orellana (the builder died in 1576) resembling it, and a Fonseca palace (built about 1527–32) called the Casa de la Salina, which wants the angle-towers and introduces an open loggia on the ground story. This was an Italianate device, probably, like the open loggia of the *piano noble* in the palace of the Counts of Gomara at Soria. **Plate VIII**

Alcalá The bishop's palace at Alcalá[2] was Fonseca building (1524–34) in part, but the gallery is like that of the University which Cisneros had built (1508–19) and it is noteworthy that the only example in



Cuellar, S. Salvador

XVIII



Alba de Tormes

Madrid of the *adarve* is the Cisneros palace (1537). The low relief, the silversmith's decoration, the studied proportion, make this work at Alcalá less splendid than the styles at Saragossa and Salamanca. In the Basque provinces among other extraordinary things this feature may be found but must be accounted for as an importation from other provinces; so also at Trujillo in the region of the Conquistadores; but in Vascongada and the Burgalese the style tends toward a façade of only two stories and the gallery is more like a loggia. At Saldañuela it is frankly such a two-storied loggia as may be seen in Tuscany, for instance at Montepulciano on the Piazza. The fashion was at its height in the sixteenth century but went on into the seventeenth and even later.

Elsewhere imported

Dated early examples are easier to find in public buildings than in private, perhaps because they were less liable to reconstruction, as in Barcelona La Almoyna (1400), in Valencia the Lonja (1482–98), the Lonja in Saragossa of 1551. In Alcañiz the buildings on the square were under alteration from the thirteenth and fourteenth century on to the seventeenth; at Huesca the Casa Consistorial (1610–12), at Ubeda the Town Hall (1604), carry on the series. Town halls in the south, however, took a special form, open above and below, like those in the north of Italy, probably for the same reason.

Lastly, *adarves* must be considered as they are found in castles. Some of the fairest castles in Spain wear a gallery like a brow-band of gold—Granada and Cuellar are unforgettable. The castle of Alacuás (in the province of Valencia) was a fifteenth-century case, till, lately, it was sold to the house-wreckers; that of Zafra in Estremadura was rebuilt as early as 1437; and between 1475 and 1505 the same artist, Juan Guas, built the castle of Manzanares el Real and the palace of the Dukes of the Infantado at Guadalajara. To his work, being Mudéjar throughout, we may return later.

Castles
Plate
XCIII

Davon
spater

Summing up, the negative proof seems nearly as important as the direct. In the Mudéjar regions the *adarve* is present: at

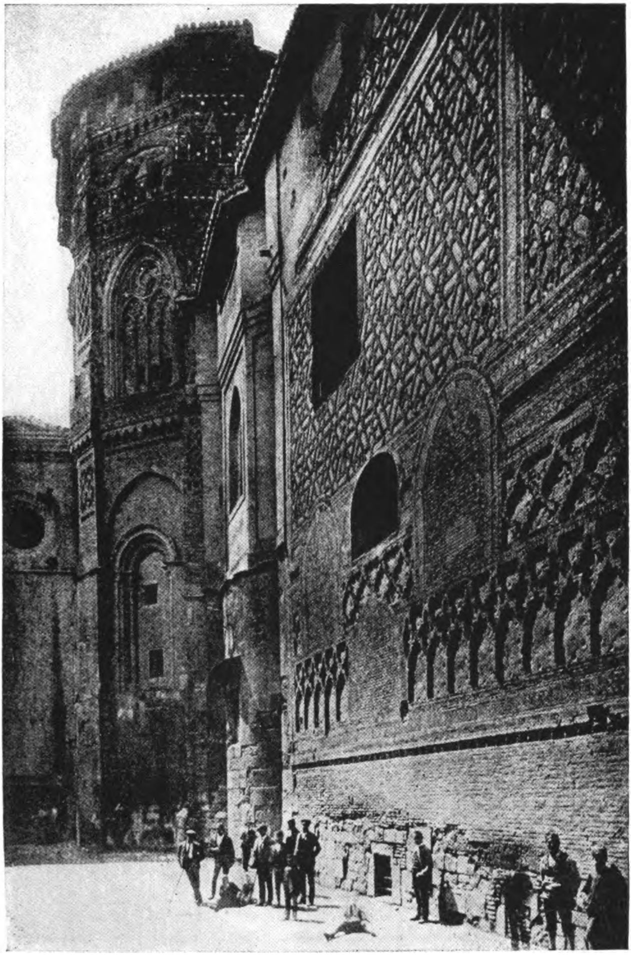
Almazán above the city walls looking wide abroad, at Teruel similarly running along a grand mass of conventual buildings, but it is also on the square eastward of the cathedral, and above another little square, poor and shabby, where you enter the town or go out by diligence. At Granada, where Moslem workers remained and Mudéjar work was continued after 1495, it is a characteristic of the Renaissance architecture. At SS. Creus in Catalonia, one chamber of the tiny palace that kings built for themselves within the Cistercian enclosure has a window of moulded plaster work that looks abroad into the free world; and all Cistercian work in Spain shows Mudéjar traits. On the other hand, Enrique Egas of Toledo was as careful wherever possible to avoid that sort of thing as Francisco de Colonia in Burgos or the Italianate masters that built the castle of La Calahorra in the Alpujarra or lived and worked at Seville—Genoese men, like Aprile of Carona, and their pupils. That Granada, with mountain winds to blow, and mountain snows in view, should

Plate IX

have needed such a gallery for pleasurable use, confirms what was said before about its taking the place of the *patio* which is suitable chiefly for a warm climate.

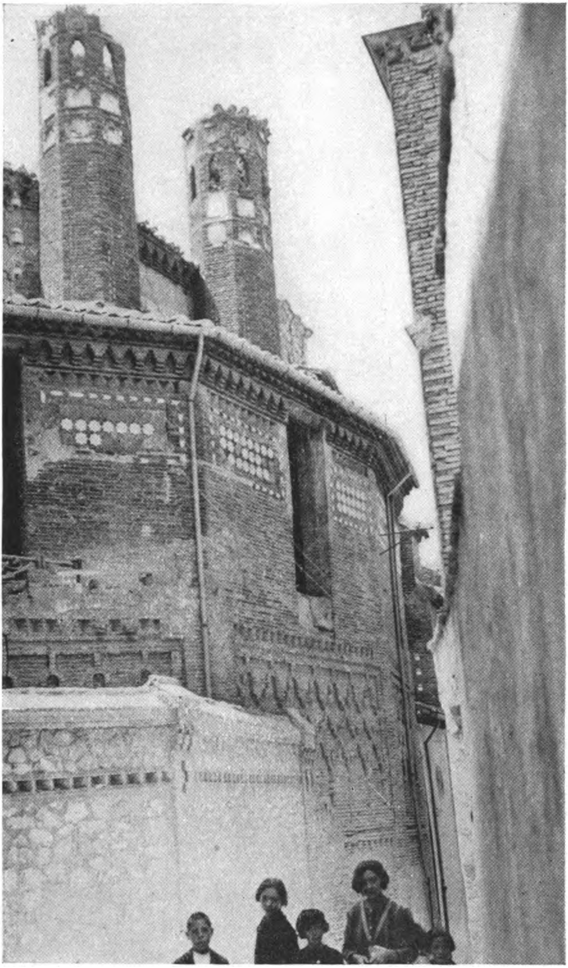
Flowering time

Thus it appears that all the great examples of the *adarve* fall within little more than a century, between the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Moriscos. Partly this is because so many of the great palaces were built or rebuilt at that epoch, but partly also because those of later building were less splendid and unlike. The theme commenced and developed in Mudéjar regions, and when the Mudéjars were gone, it died away. As an excellence entirely Spanish, exquisite and transitory, it must be prized.



Saragossa, Apse of the Cathedral

XX



Teruel, Apse of S. Pedro

III

Coming now to examine the principal characteristics of Mudéjar architecture, it may be well to consider first the structural elements in brick and stone building, and then the part that wood played in construction and decoration both; after which the special art of *yeseria*, of plaster work, will follow naturally.

The Elements Material

§ 1

Brick

Lampérez, like a sound working architect as he was, enforced a distinction between brick Romanesque and Mudéjar, based upon the methods of construction. The Romanesque building is vaulted and buttressed, the ornamentation is scanty and severe, the elements are few and large; while in the Mudéjar the ceiling is of timber, the wall is a screen, the ornamentation rich with both variety and repetition, the elements small and multitudinous. Of the pure brick Romanesque, however, so few examples exist, and so much has been contaminated by the contact or the succession of Mudéjar, that Lampérez was driven to distinguish an intermediate style and name it, rather happily, *aljamiada*, since it came, like the literature, out of the Ghetto. But since Spanish builders at all times when most Spanish took more lightly than the French such matters as ribs and buttresses, thrust and strains, and since this Romanesque brick building occurs only in places where the presence of Mudéjars can be proved, the present writer is disposed to include in the consideration Romanesque work, as Renaissance is included.

The earliest which can be securely dated is probably that at Sahagun, for S. Tirso is mentioned in a donation of 1078. The town is full of brick churches, and S. Pedro de las Dueñas, only six miles off, is partly in the same style. Another set of towns lies, roughly, within reach of Medina del Campo—Astudillo northward, Cuellar to the northeast, Madrigal, Arévalo, Olmedo, in regions that lacked a building stone. On the Silver Road, or near by, are Toro,

Castile
Plate XI

Plate XIV

Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Alba de Tormes, with Béjar and Villoria. Toledo is another centre. The churches in all these places have the same characteristic of structural ornament in the form of brick arcades, along the walls sometimes and around the apses usually. The arches may be set in one single lofty arcade that recalls the Armenian use of another difficult material, or in superimposed rows, two or three, or alternating with sunken rectangles and divided by bands of saw-tooth, or, more rarely, composed with interlacing arches. Not in all cases is this form structural, but in very many it is. The same holds true in the East:[1] the Chaldean work and that of Ctesiphon fulfill a structural function, the Assyrian and Persian do not.

Silver Road
Toledo

The recessed panel or niche, and the pilaster often simulating an engaged column, are correlative and essential in brick work. Structurally they offer the two advantages of strengthening the wall at successive points and lightening the mass of it at others. Decoratively, they delight the eye with a rhythm easy to follow, and

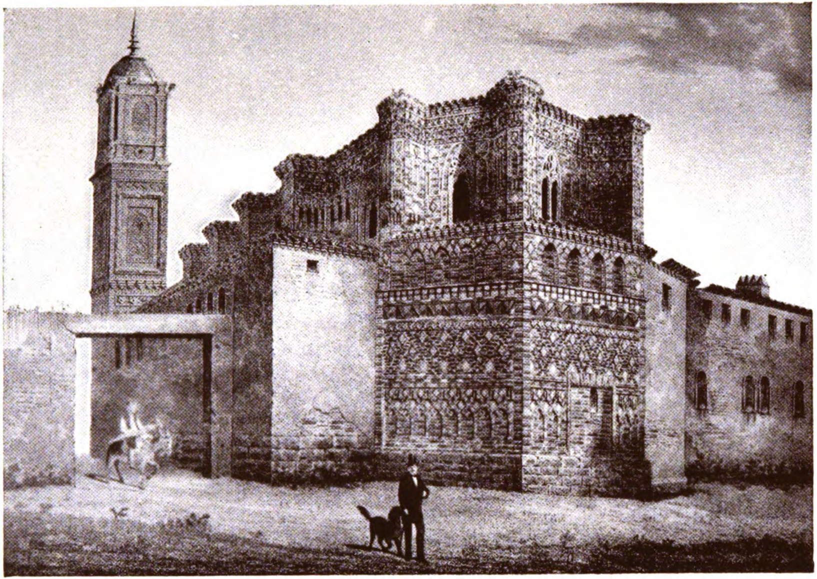
Plate XII

break up the monotonous curtain wall with shadow-pattern, varied degrees of light and tone, and a slight wavy movement in the third dimension. Tri-dimensional pattern gives a peculiar pleasure. From Warka to Khorsabad, from Firuzabad to Ctesiphon and thence to El Asik of Samarra, the progression is plain. Samarra is a dated monument, whence the Arab builders passed along the north of Africa. At the Kala'a of the Beni Hammad,[2] in Algeria, a tower is yet standing to testify where a fortress-city was founded in 1007 and abandoned in 1090. Thence they went on into Spain. The Mesopotamian palaces were built for caliphs, and were each abandoned at the master's death,[3] yet they were sumptuous, and their new forms came to birth in the early Middle Age. In Spain, in the latter Middle Age, Mudéjar building was homely, of brick and timber, for the wealthy abbeys and cathedrals adapted the French style to their own desires, and kept the Mudéjar for parish churches and local sanctuaries.

Tri-dimensional pattern

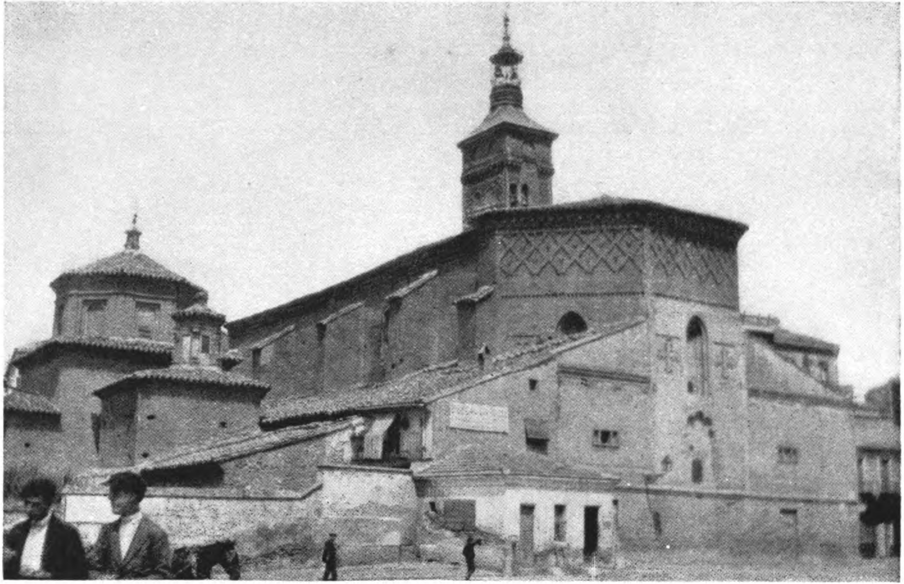
Plate XIV

Two things are noticeable about this



Calatayud, S. Pedro Martir

XXII



Saragossa, Apse of S. Miguel

brick arcading—how it is Eastern, and yet how it is Spanish. A glance will recognize the most ancient way of building of the East, at S. Lorenzo of Toro or La Lugareja of Arévalo. The long narrow arches in two orders run down the flank or encircle the apse; they may be enclosed in sunken rectangles and defined by a band of saw-tooth. The aisle-front of S. Basilio of Cuellar repeats the very motive from the flank of S. Lorenzo, while the apse of S. Pedro of Madrigal was banded by successive arches separated by a string-course of saw-tooth at every stage.

Plate XIII
Plate XIV

At Ravenna, in the Middle Age, the device had been used on walls, and later at Constantinople to decorate the apses in three rows superposed. Compare Italian work: the wide shallow arches in the clerestory of S. Agata (mid IV c.), at S. Apollinare in Classe (VI c.), and at Bagnacavallo (VII c.) come from the same sources as the Spanish, but look surprisingly different; the wall arcading at S. Apollinare is the same, and so is that of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. It is odd to notice how

Ravenna

here, as in Castile, an ornament is devised by simply setting the row of bricks differently: in Ravenna they jut out, and make a pretty cornice pattern; in Spain they are set angle-wise and form the *espina de pez* (fish-bone) that we call saw-tooth. Rivoira[4] publishes a bit of eighth-century wall from Pavia, S. Maria delle Caccie, which is even closer to the Castilian by definition but looks no more like it.

Sardineles

Byzance

The apse-arcading at Constantinople[5] is altogether delightful. No one having seen it will forget the Rose mosque or the church of S. Theodore, or the Kahrie Djami. The series begins with the church of Lips in the tenth century, the best is found in the eleventh and twelfth, but it is going on still in the fourteenth, just contemporary with Olmedo and Astudillo. The manner had come into Spain long since, not from Byzance by way of Italy and France but through Mauretania, carried by Moslem workmen from Mesopotamia. At Byzance the brick arcades are set in two orders, as in Castile, but excepting the earliest they frame shallow segmental niches, or sometimes alternate panels and niches, in a rhythm very pleasant and subtle. Colonnettes were used also at times. Byzantine builders thought monumentally, in terms of mass and spacial movement.

In Castile the decoration is conceived in parallel planes; first the wall proper, of which the pilaster is a part, then the sunk recess, and last the sunken panel within the arch; or, elsewhere, the outer arches are flush with the wall, without any frame; but always the brick-laying marks and outlines. The forms and varieties of arch are often countercharged in their alternation of horseshoe, or round, or pointed and cusped horseshoe in turn.

Parallel planes

The horseshoe arch is used at Sahagun, as it had been by Mozarabic builders there already; at Toledo, and at Peñafiel which is Toledan perhaps; but not at Toro, Cuellar, Madrigal, and Arévalo, where the Mozarabic tradition was not present. The rectangles are substituted for arcades only, to my knowledge, at Cuellar[6] and Sahagun. Interlacing arches are found at Narros del Castillo, on a wall, and at Toledo, for

Horseshoe

Plate XVII

instance on the Mudéjar apse of the Christ of the Light and in a broad band under the eaves of the convent of S. Fé. But the device is rare, nor are these indeed apse-arcades in the same sense as the Castilian. Cusped arches are characteristic of Toledo —appearing on the wall of S. Isabel and the apse of S. Ursula and all along the Tagus; they reappear, usually in the outer order, at S. Pablo of Peñafiel. Colonnettes are combined with arcading at Alba de Tormes, and the traveler's surprise attests their rarity.

Plate XV

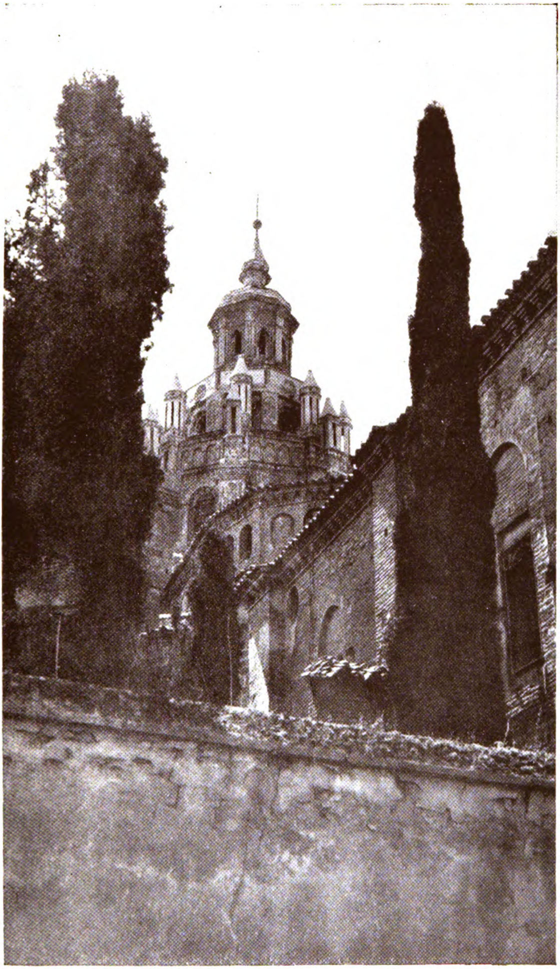
Plate XVI

Plate XVIII

Apse decoration

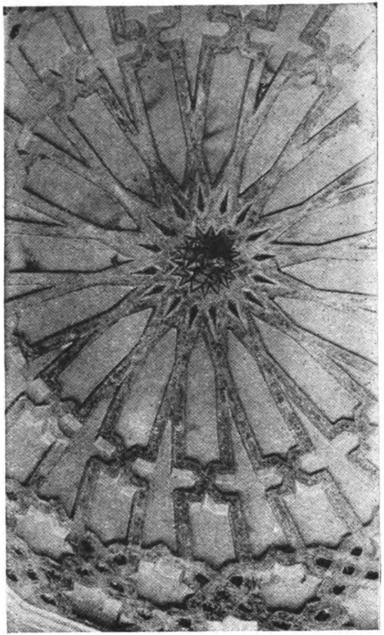
In Aragon the decoration of apses takes another form, that corresponds with the ornament of the brick towers there. The parish churches of Saragossa, like S. Gil and S. Catalina, conform to the "hall" type of the east coast, with a single great nave and a gigantic apse; those of La Magdalena and S. Miguel still show the apse practically unspoiled. It is decorated with brick-work patterns in relief, rather simple and very large, that seem to the western imagination out of scale. The same is true of the decoration in the Hall

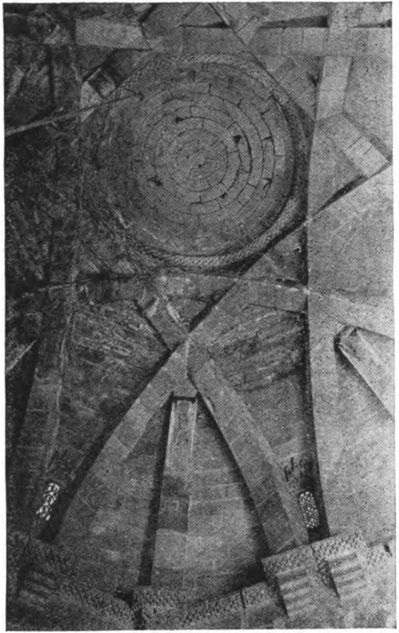
XXIII



The Cathedral of Tarazona

XXIV





Ribbed Domes

1. Tordesillas, Chapter Room

2. El Sepulcro, Torres

of Ambassadors at Granada and of the designs of Seljuk builders in Asia Minor. **Plate XXII** At S. Miguel, they are interlaced in *angrelados*, engrailment; **Plate X** at La Magdalena left in the state of stepped lozenges, with a band of engrailment further down that once crowned a high dado of patterning or tile. The pattern is laid around the polygon as casually as along the façade at Mshatta, but it is a modest pattern, easy and inexpensive.

Of a casing more splendid, and more incorporate with the wall, remain the vestiges at the Seo of Saragossa and S. Pedro of Teruel, and the record in a drawing that Carderera made of S. Pedro Martyr of Calatayud.[7] Magallon, on the Ebro, is said to have such another monument in S. Domingo, and other fine churches as well. The cathedrals of Teruel and Tarazona have been completely altered.

At Saragossa only one strip of wall survives from the splendid building of D. Pedro de Luna, the great Antipope whose name until his death was Benedict XIII.

A wide section of wall, at the window level, was divided into a succession of rectangles and filled with geometric patterns of *laceria*, the sort used for timber ceilings, doors and furniture. Above this may be recognized the wave or zigzag noted at Teruel, and another stage, probably of lozenges, has been destroyed; below, as basement, occur saw-tooth, more lozenges, and a low range of engrailment. How much of the design was inlaid with coloured tile may be guessed from what still remains at Teruel and was recorded before it was destroyed at Calatayud.

Plate XIX

Since to Peter of Luna belongs the work at Saragossa (1400–20) and at Calatayud (1352 and after), it is safe to attribute to his epoch S. Pedro of Teruel. This, too, before rebuilding, was a wide hall church, timber roofed; the buttresses which run up inside the ambulatory simulate octagonal towers and are pierced in the upper stage by cusped windows. Here the fine brick cornice has survived, and below it the tiled ornamentation like that on the earliest of the towers; beneath a wide plain

Plate XX

band comes the engrailment framed in rectangles, one to each face of the polygon. At Calatayud the ornament seems richer, having no blank spaces but setting at the top of the ambulatory wall an arcade in strong relief of brick arches, like the Castilian-Leonese. The buttresses that stand against the high clerestory of the nave and that were rectangular along the side, end in a half-octagon at the angles of the three-sided apse. Everything is covered with pattern, in Carderera's drawing: everything is dazzling with colour, in his description, green or purple or charged with blazonries. This is the earliest church of the three named, as the architectural forms reveal being here more structural, more conservative; and the enormous church itself, though single-aisled, was vaulted. S. Pedro of Teruel comes next, and the simulation of towers is repeated on the square buttresses of S. Pablo of Peñafiel, which lies far down the Duero on the edge of Old Castile.

Plate XXI

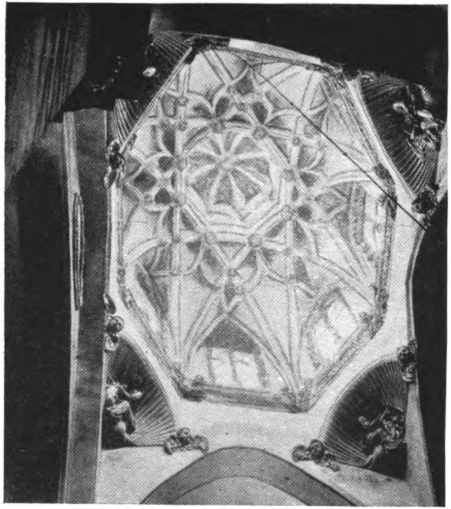
Plate XVI

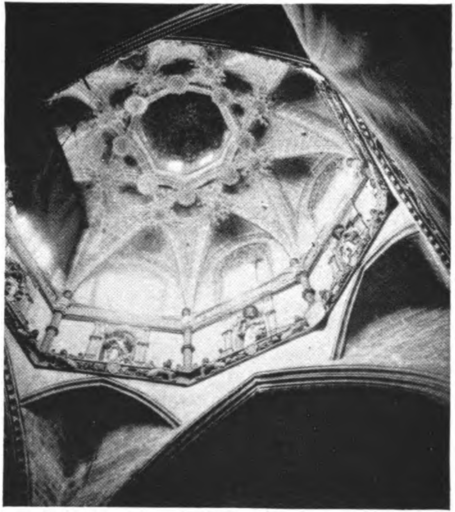
The lantern, in the three Mudéjar cathedrals of Aragon, at Saragossa, Tarazona,

Lantern

and Teruel, is as similar as the three apses first described. That of Saragossa, however, is the earliest; the dome of Peter of Luna (*c.* 1412) was threatened by the crumbling of a crossing pier and a Commission of architects decided to lower it, which was done between 1500 and 1520. At S. Mary of Teruel, in 1538, the painted timber ceiling was torn out, in the crossing bay, to allow Master Martin of Montalban to erect a dome. The dome of Tarazona was paid for by Canon Juan Muñoz, who died in 1546; planned as early as 1519, it was still under construction in 1543, but the good canon must have enjoyed the completion, for in the year after his death Master Alonzo González was overhauling the roof generally.

Outside, the dome of Saragossa is much less picturesque than the other two; it has massive moulded buttresses, a simple but good brick frieze of lozenges, and in the upper lantern Isabellan arches for the windows. This is not probably due to the presence of Enrique Egas from Toledo on the Commission that sat in 1498; the form



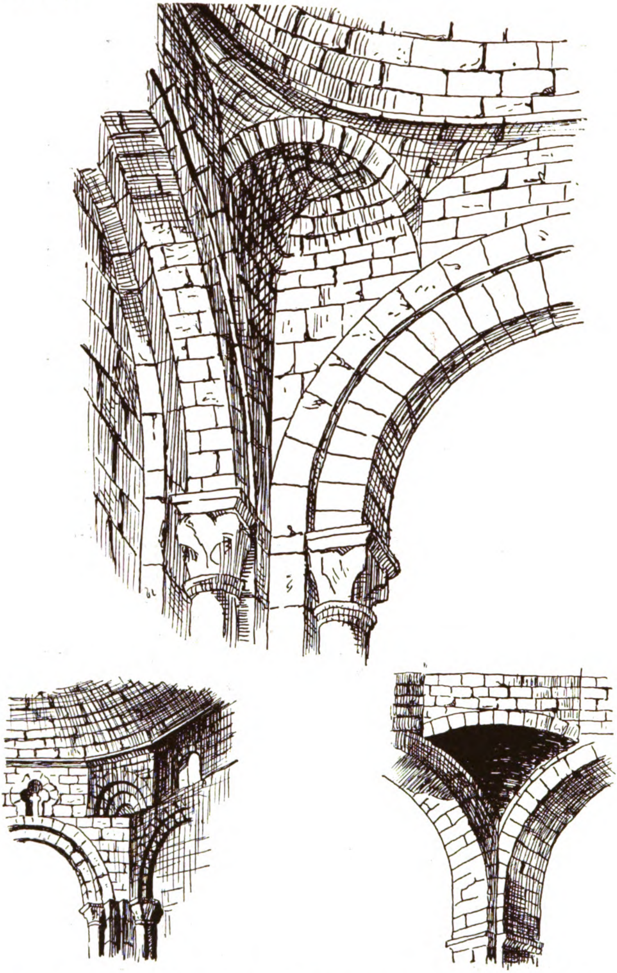


Domes

1. Teruel Cathedral

2. Saragossa Cathedral

XXVI



Squinches: 1. S. Quirse; 2. Castañeda; 3. Camprodon was familiar in the Eastern Caliphate and whoever was to design the Torre Nueva would have known it already. The low pyramidal roof of tile is regional and admirable. Inside, the octagonal dome rests on Lombard squinches, and the ribbed vaulting forms a star: eight ribs starting from the angles define a central octagon and cross before reaching that, with a splendid boss or rosette at every crossing and every angle. Eight windows are set between the springing ribs and below these on the drum eight statues in niches, while four more figures occupy the hollows at the commencement of the squinch. The arrangement of the ribs is a special adaptation of a Mozarabic form, which may better be discussed when we come to stone-ribbed domes; the figures below the squinch are traditional likewise, from the Romanesque age of Toro and Salamanca and S. Andrés de Armentia. The source is Byzantine of course and almost at this moment Correggio was setting like figures, within like shells, at Parma, but the Spanish tradition is ancient and continuous. **Plate XXV**

Teruel, far more regional, is far more picturesque, with patterning and pinnacle and tiling, while buttressing is strong and windows are spacious. Within, there is less sculpture, though still the Evangelists hold their place under shell-fluting, little angels and *querubines* sufficing for the rest. The star-pattern of ribs is differently composed, in a more Gothic kind, and complicated with lierne-ribs and supplementary bosses in a way hard to describe but easy to recognize whether at Soria or Segovia, full of movement in a delicate rhythm of advance and withdrawal.

Plate XXIX

Plate XXV

The same sort of sinuous weaving dance of line and shadow moves round the lantern opening at Tarazona, but the main ribs at their springing are less defined, the drum is loftier and the statues in niches are restored, the squinches and their figures retained. Outside, the dome has a serious architectural intention, conventional, with pilasters and arcading and major and minor parts and for buttress-pinnacle a sort of open circular temple with conical roof, absurdly like a Renaissance version of the

Plate XXVII

Plate XXIII

turrets of the dome of Zamora which is so Romanesque yet so oriental-seeming. At La Martorana of Palermo they may be seen as well.

These are not the only domes in Aragon; S. Mary of Calatayud, for instance, is in the same tradition with a brick dome of no great interest, and, on the other hand, there exists in the palace of Segura[8] at Teruel a dome above the staircase of tracery identical with that of the Seo in Saragossa, with lantern, windows, and squinches.

Meanwhile in the brick building of Castile at Arévalo may be seen a dome conceived in the noblest Byzantine form, with deep half-orange, a row of round-headed blind arches encircling the drum, and true pendentives rising above the pointed crossing arches. Outside with its stumpy tower the church of La Lugareja looks like those domed Eastern tombs that travelers have seen at Tus and at Merv, and the inside, though desecrated and abandoned, comes with a shock of loveliness.

Plate XLI

Plate XIV

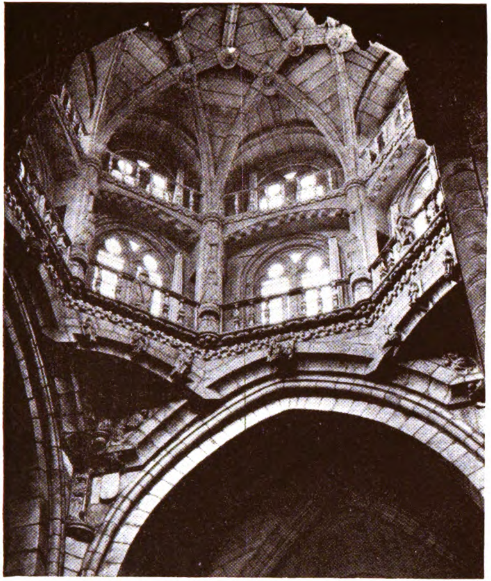
Brick vaulting is rare, for, as Lampérez said, the pure Mudéjar building is intended for a timber roof. But the Cistercians of Aragon gave a founder at the first, and always an over-lord, to the Order of Calatrava, and the ruined castle of the Order, in New Castile, shows Cistercian and Aragonese traits. The church is built of heavy red stone with brick vaulting, domical; and the laying of the bricks illustrates the method devised in Mesopotamia to save centering so far as possible. The square compartments where bricks are laid around and around to ascend cautiously, till a single slab will cover the gap at the centre, which Miss Bell[9] found in the Tur Abdin at Mar Jakob and again in the plain at Samarra, and which we observed in the tower vaulting at Constantinople in the Castle of the Seven Towers that must be fifteenth-century masonry, supplies a method adaptable in various ways, adapted at Calatrava. It is entirely unlike either the Roman or the French.

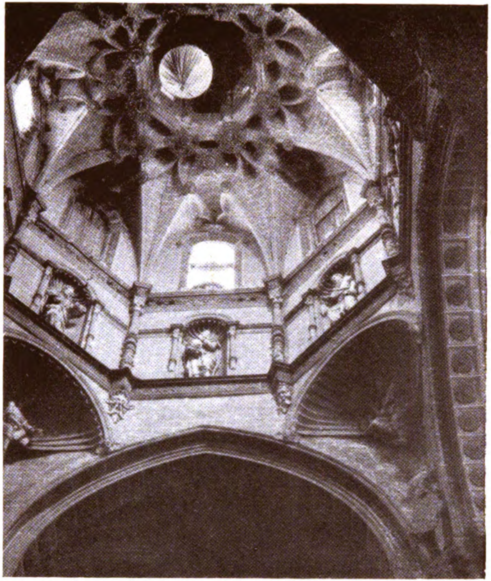
Castle of Calatrava

Plate XXXI

Plate XXXII

In Mudéjar brick architecture of the north, then, it would appear that churches are usually modest, often of but one nave,

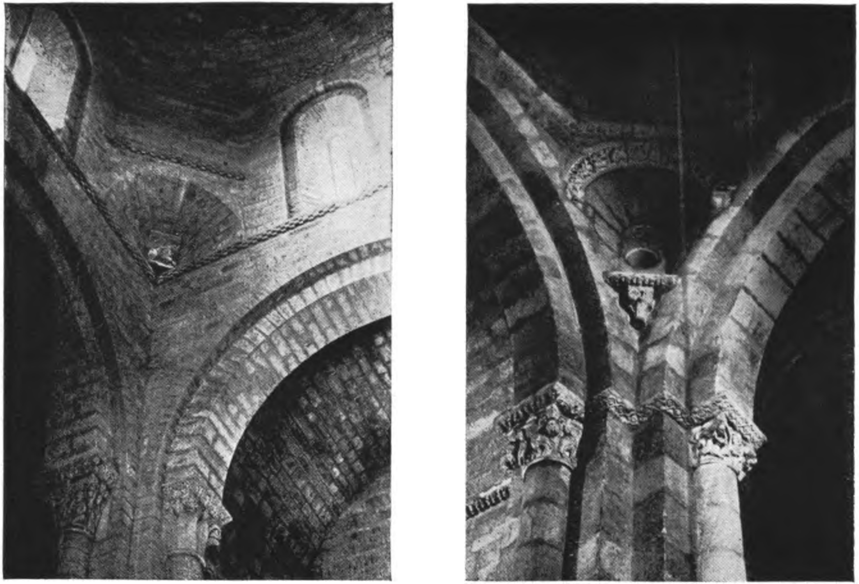




Domes

1. Orense Cathedral

2. Tarazona Cathedral



Squinches

1. S. Martin, Fromista

2. S. Juan de Rabaneyra

usually with but one slope of roof from centre to outer wall. The three-aisled churches may be of the hall type, the single-aisled have internal buttresses constituting chapels. The ceilings are timbered, the apses vaulted; domes where practicable are desired. Buttresses have a special development in Lower Aragon, but elsewhere are indifferent. Brick patterning, and sometimes tile, are used freely on the exterior, especially the apse, and in Teruel there are towers corresponding; in Castile the brick ornament takes the form of arcades, and, like the church, the towers of Arévalo are arcaded similarly.

What happened elsewhere in Spain can be more conveniently considered later, under the topic of regional styles. The Mudéjars of Aragon have supplied a norm.

Davon später

§ 2

Stone

Mudéjar workmen, however, were often expert stonecutters, and their special sort of ornament may be seen in cathedrals, in convents, and in lonely sanctuaries on both sides of the Pyrenees. The cusped arches of the triforium at Santiago and Toledo must be referred to them, like the portal of S. Michel at Le Puy, which looks so strange in France and would seem familiar in Spain. M. Mâle[1] has told how the Arabs revered that shrine of the Mountain Mother, going on pilgrimage thither—his Arabs were probably Mudéjars—and thereby he turned an inference into an attested fact. They traveled, apparently, on all the great highways of the West: the Way of S. James, the Ebro Road, the Duero Road; and in the valleys of the Tech and the Tet the horseshoe arcading of the lintel at S. Genès des Fontaines and the Persian leafage on a capital at S. Lizier attest their presence.

Mudéjars at Le Puy

S. Genès

S. Lizier

At least from the tenth century, Moslem slaves constituted a considerable part of the property of wealthy abbeys, and they were the principal craftsmen. Many lived happily among the monks and lay brothers, with work that taxed the imagination and gave play to the power of the skilled artist. Those who carved the capitals at Silos were, it has been conjectured, familiar with

Silos

metal work: they were certainly familiar with oriental art in some crafts and in some objects. The ivory cross of Ferdinand the Great, the ivory casket now in Burgos museum, that from Palencia, and the Zamora box, were made by such men and made so near to the turn of the first millennium that it matters little whether they are called Mozarabes or Mudéjars.

Cuenca

At Poblet, from the twelfth century to the fifteenth, Mudéjars were occupied. There are capitals in the cloister and thereby some of water-leaf forms laid close in low relief, some of interlaces, some of intricate reticulations, which one learns to recognize. Lérida cathedral is full of them. The cloister of S. Bertrand de Comminges is furnished with them, and, by the same token, just under the hill below the abbey lies Valcabrère where four Spanish Saints still keep watch about the portal. Returning to Poblet, something more must be indicated.

Poblet

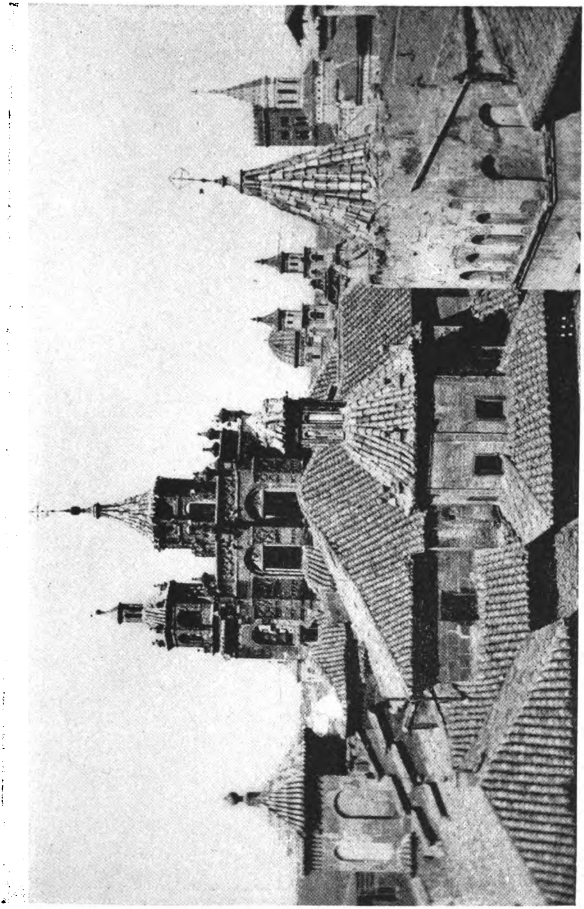
XII–XIII c.

Comminges and Valcabrère

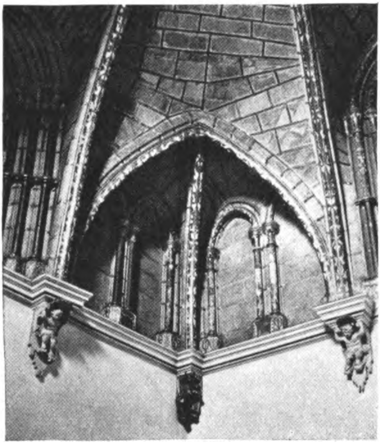
A *mensula* is a sort of corbel, shaped rather like a capital, used like a bracket for support where a colonnette is not desired. It may be found, among other places, below an eaves-arcading and underneath vaulting ribs. The mensulas that carry the great arches in the dormitory of the novices at Poblet are carved in a curious flat technique of successive planes, not properly European. The devices comprise monsters, or vine and leaf forms, or knots, plaits, nets. Here recur the palmette, the grape and its leaf, the corrugated stringy creeper with its knotted coils, that "Carolingian" art had fetched from eastward five hundred years before, imported again from who knows where? A capital in the chapter room is covered with a vine stylized like the plaster work at Samarra. A capital in the dormitory shows monsters affrontés, snub-nosed like the Persian and Seljuk dragons. The overlapping leaves, as thin as scales and as close, are stylized and unlike anything but themselves. XIII c. Plate XXXIV

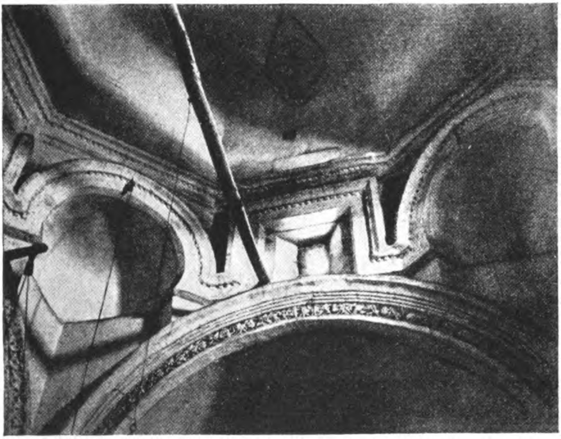
In Lérida cathedral, throughout the thirteenth century, Gothic and Mudéjar sculptors worked side by side. It is possible to examine the capitals of the nave

XXIX



Towers, Lanterns, and Domes





Squinches

1. Avila, Inner Sacristy
2. Khakh, El Adra

arcade closely, and to see clearly the magnificent ones of the crossing, because a floor has been run midway through the great building that now serves for barracks, and monsters grin and writhe above the grey blankets of young soldiers. My notebook records Mudéjar entrelacs down the south side of the nave, and in the northeast corner of the transepts the same workmanship with leaves in rows and whorls in curls. Nor were the day-labourers alone Mudéjars, for the architect who designed the south portal set a cusped niche high up in the spandrel, flanking it after the Moslem manner of Iconium and Cairo. It suffices to compare the photographs[3] to recognize the identity of character in the deeply cut and interwoven ornament. But indeed all the art of Lérida has a touch of Asiatic loveliness—notably the virgin and angel in the museum. They were carved by no Old Christian.

Cf. Djarbekr Gates

Plate XXXIII

Nor the Miraflores Tombs

Many cloister capitals at Moissac, as Bertaux saw and said, are Mudéjar equally, though of another type. The cloister was built in the year 1100. The portal was

1085–1115

built by 1115. Up the face of the trumeau there goes an extraordinary composition of crossed lions and lionesses saltire-wise. It is highly decorative though absurd. It was copied from a hunting scene like that on the Silos casket where the throng of wild animals is indicated by this convention, and a master supremely indifferent to representative art, experienced and preoccupied with problems of pure design, transcribed it with honest and palpable delight for the Pyrenean abbey.

Dome ribbing

There is a hospice dedicated to S. Blas on the northern slope of the Pyrenees, going to S. Jean de Luz. Lampérez published it twenty years ago;[3] and later, M. Mâle. The ribs of the dome or lantern there cross leaving the centre open and come down on the opposite side. This is the form chosen for the cathedral at Saragossa in the sixteenth century, as for the mosque at Cordova in the tenth. It was to be the typical Mudéjar dome-vaulting.

Every one knows in Cordova the vestibule to the Third Mihrab, for which the

Emperor of Byzance sent a gift of mosaics to adorn it and workmen to put them in place. The hushed and solemn splendour burns on in memory. The dark brightness of the mosaic, the contour of the dome itself, the amplitude of the central area, lobed, fluted, and withdrawn, the quiet curves and spacing of the vaulting ribs that cross far down and leave wide triangles between, that never leap nor yearn, but pause and brood—all these traits may owe something to the realm that the East calls Rum, but they express Islam, and they lent to the cathedral domes of the north, up to the last hour, something of their special power.

Cordova

As early as the year 1000, in Toledo,[4] was built the mosque now called the Christ of the Light, where each of the nine bays had a little dome over it, and no two are alike. Here may be seen, in two compartments, the system by which straight ribs run across, two and two, from side to side, leaving a central square space. This was employed under the crossing at S. Millan of Segovia, as also in the dome

Toledo

Segovia

of the church of Vera Cruz in the plain outside Segovia, built for the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in 1208 and they may have brought it directly from the East. The Mosque of Las Tornerias, in Toledo, shows in its nine central bays no form identical with this, but two of them leave a central square by arranging ribs rather oddly at right angles.

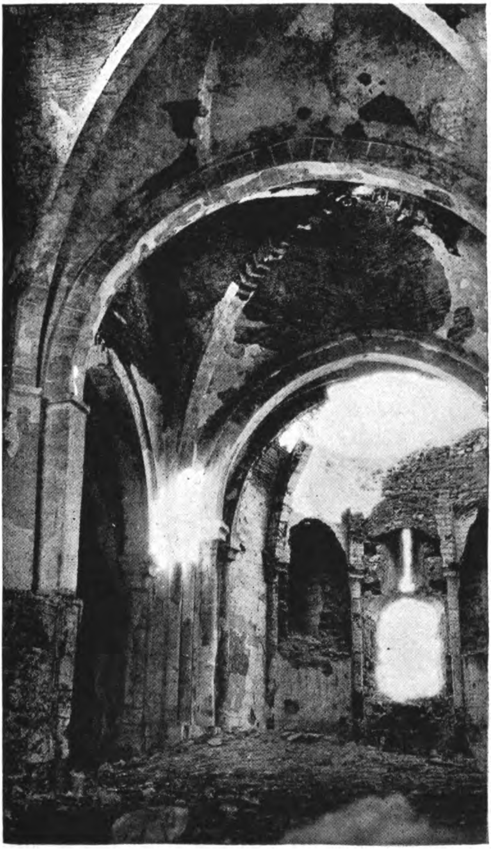
Wooden Architecture of the North

The system comes from Central Asia and from an architecture of wood, in which timbers are laid across the angles and others over their angles, and so on, diminishing in successive rows to carry a sort of ceiling with a central oculus.[5] In Turkestan, in Kashmir and India the device may be observed. By nomads it was carried both east and west; in Indian cave-temples the rock-hewn roof still simulates it and with Islam it went into Spain and was adapted to domed and ribbed brick-building.

Plates XLV, LVIII

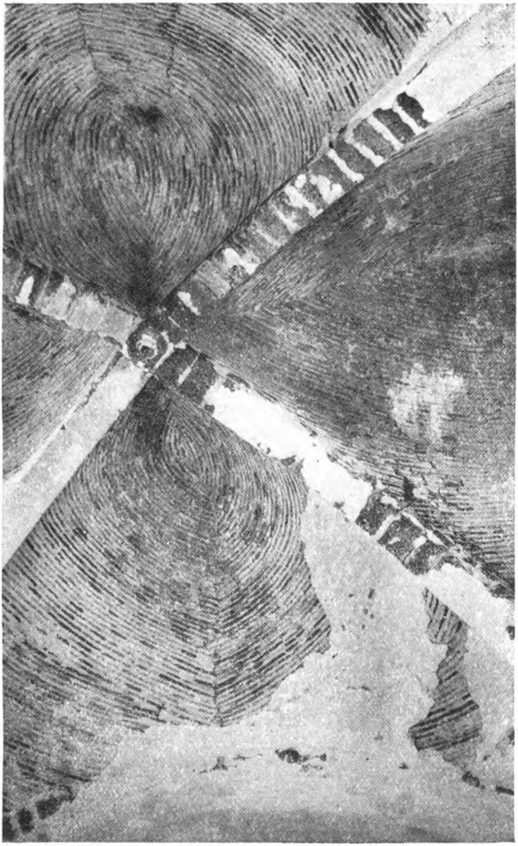
In Corea also

Already in the Christ of the Light there were lower ribs that crossed the corners at odd angles, and in the central compartment and in one other a good octagon was



Castle of Calatrava
Interior of Church

XXXII



Castle of Calatrava
Detail of Vaulting

left clear in the centre where the springing ribs had crossed and descended on the other side, although both here and at Las Tornerias in other cells the ribs crossed saltire-wise or like a Greek cross.

Plate XXXV

In the Capilla de Belen, however, which Rodrigo Amador de los Rios[6] will have a palace-oratory of the tenth century, the pattern is more intricate and the effect very different. Over the two parallel ribs crossing each other both ways is laid another similar set turned at an angle of 45°; this makes an eight-pointed star of sixteen ribs with a central octagon. Now, these ribs are all horseshoe arches, so that the dome draws in again toward the base, and the same is the case in the vaulted cells of the Christ of the Light. Another instance is the hermitage of S. Baudelio de Berlanga,[7] that lies south of Soria on the other side of the Duero. Here horseshoe ribs spring from each angle and the centre of each side, rise and descend again toward a central pier (making a two-bayed ceiling whichever way one looks), and in the central hollow space above the

Angle of 45°

S. Baudel

pier a tiny lantern is devised, itself vaulted with four parallel ribs that cross and are overlaid by two others in a Greek cross. Gómez-Moreno believes this to be the work of the early decades of the eleventh century and calls it Mozarabic: it falls however within this sequence. The angle ribs descend above a sort of trompe, horseshoe-shaped.

Salamanca The chapel of the Mozarabic rite, at Salamanca,[8] opens from the cloister of the Old Cathedral close to the transept door, and was possibly once the chapter room. The position would indicate that; the name and use which for so long have been associated with it, might indicate a special tradition and Mudéjars or Toledan Christians for the artizans. It was built about 1178. Here the octagonal dome has sixteen ribs, adjusted a little oddly in their descent, which cross at the centre leaving an open star. The angles of the square chamber are adapted to the octagon by a sort of ribbed squinch, which is peculiarly Spanish.

Next should be considered the churches

of Torres and Almazán, where the star pattern is fully developed—as indeed it was in one of the Christian chapels at Cordova.[9] El Sepulcro of Torres[10] is an octagonal church of the thirteenth century; the pairs of ribs rise from fluted corbels in the centre of each wall, and where they cross, far up in the steep dome, an extra short rib descends perpendicularly to the capital of an angle-shaft. The centre of the vault is circular, closed in with stone laid in concentric circles, which cuts off the lantern from view. In looking up into the dome it is possible to perceive the pattern of two parallel ribs crossing each way, but one is more aware of the sharp triangles and the rising and falling lines of the mounting ribs that encircle and interlace. Tiny windows filled with pierced stone are set between the coupled ribs, low down; at Las Tornerias originally crosses of pierced stone gave light, above blind windows, in each of the cells of the vaulting. The fluted corbels recall S. Miguel at Celanova, and make another link to hold Mudéjar and Mozarabic in

Torres
Plate
XXIV

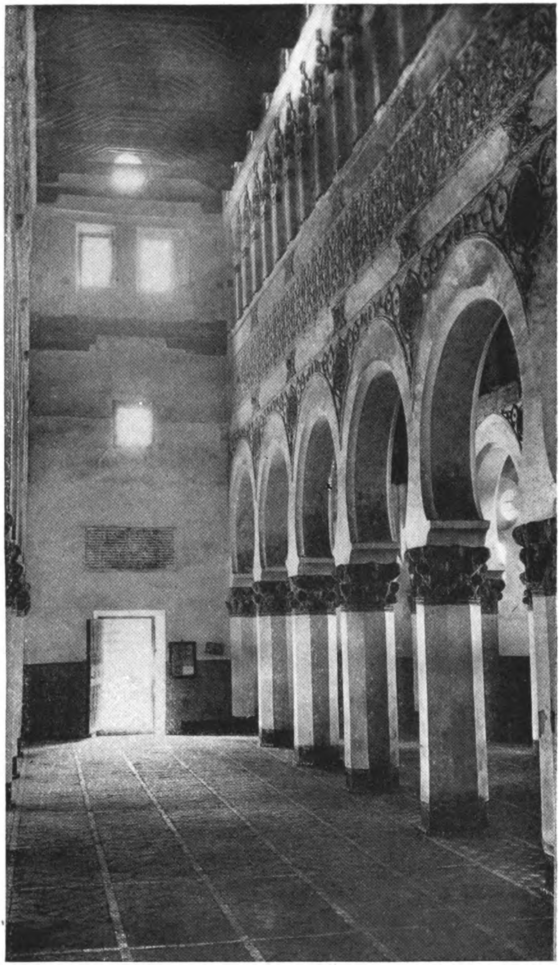
their right sequence and conjunction. The cornice is billet-moulded.

Almazán
Plate XL

Almazán[11] lies at the bend of the Duero, not far from Soria. Here the corbels are treated like capitals and they and the cornice are carved with a great effect of richness. No parallel lines flash up before the eye, the windows are circular, alternately larger and lesser, pierced through the haunch of the dome (as at Torres and Segovia) by an oriental device for which Spaniards had a predilection. The lantern is open from below, but dark. S. Miguel of Almazán belongs to the twelfth century; the whole church is interesting but especially the squinches, which consist of five concentric arches rising above a tiny niche-head, and spanning the angle. At Castañeda (in Santander) the same sort are found.

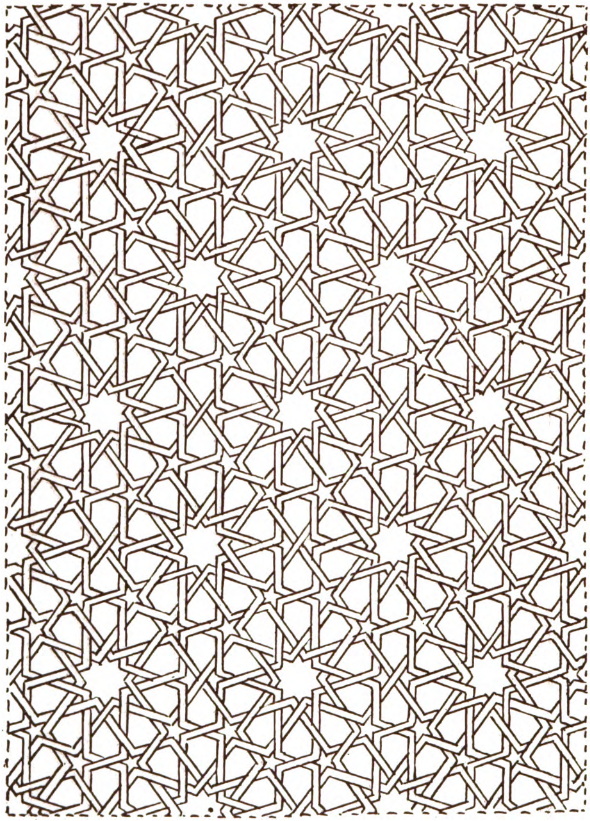
Burgos

Within the clausura at Las Huelgas there is a tiny octagonal chapel dedicated to the Assumption, built in a superb Mudéjar style. A cusped arcade runs around the walls on three sides and the dome is vaulted in a star, very deep; the



S. Maria la Blanca

LXVI



Laceria, Knot of 10
Cf. Cuenca de Campos

arrested. Through the Moorish and the Gothic ages Mudéjar design was still restless, elusive, fleeting. Now it stands stock-still; for all its wealth and loveliness, it is stabilized.

In and about Segovia the ornament of the *arabâ* enframing doors and windows was designed of plaster in flamboyant forms. The design is always composed, not continuous, and set within a geometric shape, like a pair of spandrels or a succession of panels, and when the debased arch is turned over a door-head the panels take an approximately trapezoidal form. Why the trapezium should play such a part in Mudéjar is hard to say precisely; probably, like the irregular hexagon, the errancy yet completion of the form has a special wayward, elusive allurement. At the castle of Escalona, on the Tagus, the flamboyant Gothic is set in the Toledan cartouche and under the intrados of arches.

Arabâ
Plate LXXXI

Plate LXXXII

Plates LXXIX, LXXX

There is also a special sort of late-Gothic leafage, used to fill up a hollow moulding, and deeply undercut, which appears in conjunction with Mudéjar forms, as in the work of Gil de Siloe; that however lies perhaps outside of the field of this study. Stone and plaster were used in conjunction for tombs, with flamboyant tracery and roundels of stone but plaster flutes for cusping and plaster pierced work for filling—they may yet be seen at Cuellar in S. Andrés. In Olmedo an amazing altar-sarcophagus is set under a horseshoe arch, and the designs are hard to parallel in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. Variety is the law in this epoch, and the tympanum over an altar in the chapter room at Sijena is equally unexpected and equally splendid. In the palace at Cogulludo the motives set over doors or chimneys are composed like others in the Duero region, of armouries combined with pierced roundels, the sort of leafage already mentioned, and other characteristic diaper or filling forms. Finally at Peñaranda on the Duero, *laceria* occurs in the same room with Genoese marble-workers' patterns of candelabra, acanthus-themes, and griffins with urns and tripods. In short, as with the *artesonados*, so with the *yeseria*, Renaissance

Gil de Siloe made Mudéjar tombs at Miraflores

Genoese marble workers

superseded Mudéjar at last, and the craft lived on even after the expulsion of the Moriscoes.

Esgrafiado

There is another decoration which has persisted in use even to this day—easy, inexpensive, and very pleasant to the eye. It is called *esgrafiado* and consists in coating the plastered outside of a house with colour wash in two tones successively, then scratching off the upper in a pattern to let the other show through in some simple design of diaper or interlace. Segovia is famous for this method, and delightful. The favourite colouring is in two tones of ochre—ivory and amber, or orange with pale-brown. As the Lakhmid kings had replaced alabaster by moulded stucco, so the citizen of Segovia replaces an art by simple craftsmanship within any man's reach. With the play of sun and shadow across the interlacing pattern, and the movement as one passing down the street follows the recurrent rhythm of the design, the old elusive theme is taken up again, the errant mood recaptured, and the dreamlike evanescence and recall.

§ 6

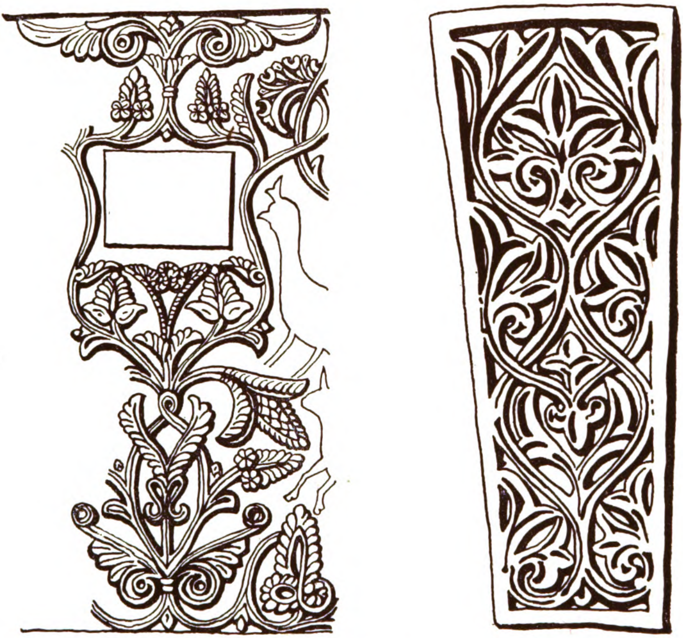
Summing up

Now it is possible to sum up the characteristic traits of Mudéjar in structural forms or those of essential ornament as distinguished from extraneous—by which is meant the difference between moulded plaster which is of the substance of the wall and, on the other hand, fresco which is painted upon it, or *artesonados* which constitutes the ceiling and arcadings which stiffen the brick work as contrasted with the patterned plaster of Italian palace ceilings and the marble casing of Italian church walls.

Domes are naturalized, they are carried on squinches, and in regions where the style is native they are ribbed on a geometric scheme of concentric squares overlapping at 45°. Squinches are general in use, various in kind: the trompe, the niche-head, the concentric arches, the true Persian squinch (as at La Mejorada) and the ribbed angle-vault that developed from it; a beautiful late example is found in the Inner Sacristy of Avila cathedral. Interlaced ribs, under a dome or a cloistered

Plate XXX

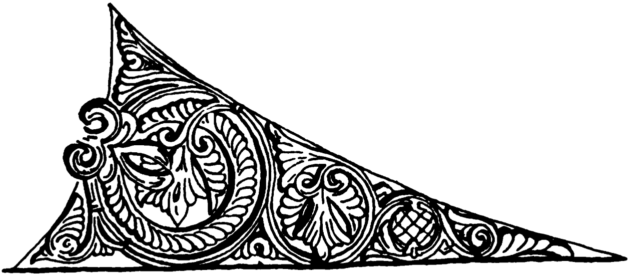
LXVII

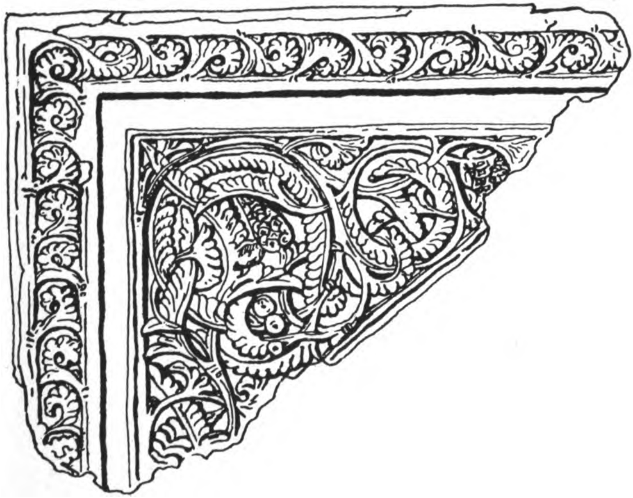


Plant Forms

1. Zamora box, detail 2. Cordova, arch-stone

LXVIII





1. Toledo

Plaster Work, Fennel Leaf

2. Malaga

vault, cross and descend, escaping the centre; in Gothic vaulting they form especial patterns in a symmetrical reticulation at the crown of the vault, for instance in the Chapel of Mosén Rubin, and again in multiplied divergent lines at the springing that recall English fan-vaulting, for instance at Barbastro. Eaves-brackets, already used in the Mozarabic time, are further enlarged and enriched, for interior and exterior, in wood and stone to carry the frieze and ceiling, or the eaves and roof, or the upper stages of towers and battlements, respectively.

Avila

Plate XLIX

Arcading is perhaps essential to brick building: in Spain the interlaced arcade is rarer than one would expect in structural forms, but it does occur; about the base of towers at Coca, along the nave wall on the parish church at Narros del Castillo near Arévalo, on the church tower of Ateca near Saragossa. Sunken rectangular panels are substituted for arches at Cuellar and Sahagun and perhaps elsewhere, as they are in the East;[1] but the usual substitute for the "Saracenic" inter-

Engrailment

laced arches of Sicily and Campania is the form called engrailment, where the crossing arch-heads turn into a lozenge pattern. Even in patterned plaster work the design often rises from shallow arches at the base of the panel. In the Toledan region a row of cusped arches is used precisely as at Rabbath-Ammon—as under the eaves of the Christ of the Light and under the cornice in the synagogues of S. Maria la Blanca and El Transito. They are found also at Medina del Pomar north of Burgos.

Plate LXXX

Cusping

Cusping is equally common in stone, in brick work, and in plaster. Mudéjar influence is reckoned as determining the cusped arches in S. Isidoro of León, S. Pablo of Tarragona, Santiago, and Toledo cathedral, and these are all very famous cases. The converse of this, a square-edged curving pattern made on the edge of arches by curl and rolls and hollows, has been noted already especially in the Duero region, nor is it, I think, confined to stone work. In plaster the *patio* arches at Tordesillas and Astudillo and the Alcázar of Seville are usually square-edged also, but intricate lace work, thin pierced and moulded, occurs, for instance, on the tombs at Cuellar. Cusping may be radial and usually is, but it may also be stilted, each arch-member rising on a vertical stalk, or it may be varied by the introduction of one or two right angles amid the sequence of curves. There is a carved Turkish slab from Diarbekr, now in Constantinople, where semicircles alternate with triangular clefts in the design, in which one source of the device may be found. The angular is, I think, like the stilted sort, proper to Spain. The conopial traceries with all their ogee interlacings in stone and iron work are also entirely Spanish.

Mudéjar arches

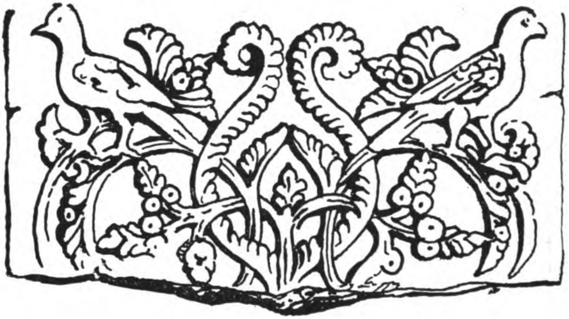
Applied bands of ornament, especially of plaster, decorate the head and spandrels of a doorway or frame the upper part of a window in the form called *arabâ*—these may take the form of flamboyant Gothic tracery, as at Segovia and Escalona; or they may constitute a frieze of long oval cartouches, connected by interlacing bands, and filled usually with a rather free pattern of plant forms. Cufic lettering is not uncommon, and is very elegant, with tall slender lines sometimes knotted in the middle.

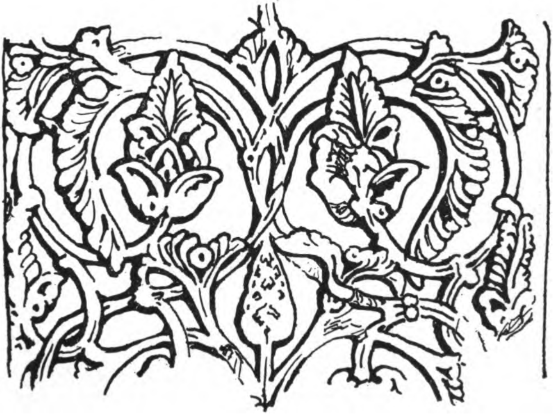
Three-lobed cusping for cornices

Plate LXXVII

Laceria is used for ceilings, doors, and other wooden members, and nearly all timber roofing shows Mudéjar traits, whether beamed, coved, or *artesonado*, painted, gilded, or merely oiled. Of *mocarabes* or honeycomb work whole ceilings are built up, *artesonado*, vaulted, or domed, with pendentives or groins; cornices and capitals also; and on the outside of towers, gates, and castles a rather simple form, a three-lobed cusping of stone carried on small corbels and repeated at least once, is used to great advantage, as at Manzanares. In S. Ferdinand's cloister at Las Huelgas the cloistered vaulting in some of the corners is filled with a rather naturalistic leafage that takes the place of honeycomb in decorative effect but is more likely[a] derived from the Gothic leaf work at León.

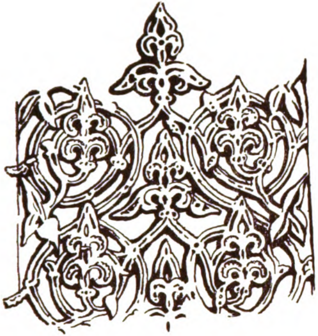
Mudéjar designs, said Lampérez, consist of two sorts only, the one geometric, the other of highly stylized fauna and flora. The animals are negligible. The acanthus



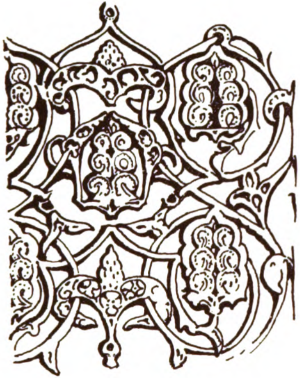


Fennel Leaf, from Museum, Toledo

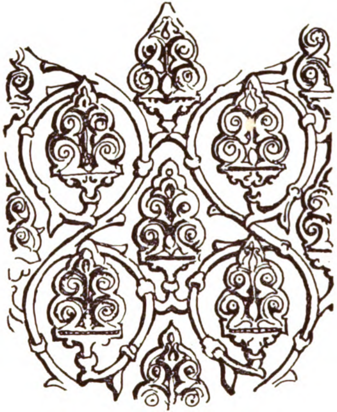
Plaster Work, Tree of Life



1. S. Juan de la Penitencia



2. Casa de Mesa



3. El Transito

Design in three planes

palmette developed through a series of forms called *ataurique*s, hearts of plants, that grew into fennel leaves long and curling or short and coupled, in intricate convolutions and interlaces, and finally into a type of design where the background was filled like a diaper with an undercurrent of the little leaves. This lasted at least into the sixteenth century.

These are, perhaps, the principal traits by which Mudéjar work may be identified. The regions in which it most flourished have been already indicated, and the regional styles will be defined very shortly. Before that, however, certain forms of purely secular building should have attention for a moment.

IV

§ 1

Secular Building

William of Tyre is reported to have said, on some occasion, that the Armenians taught the Crusaders to build their castles in Palestine. If by Crusaders he meant English, Germans, and the immediate followers of the King of France, lords of Normandy, Champagne, and the North Sea shore, he was probably correct. Up to that time they had built after the ancient British manner, with a moat, a mound, and a keep, all three concentric. In Palestine they built like the Saracens about them, following the long line of the mountain crest and setting the main stronghold at the prow or against the poop of the mighty fortress that stretched its length among the rocks and dry watercourses. Tiryns had been built in somewhat the same way.

Castles in Spain

In Provence and Languedoc, however, and throughout the Marca Hispanica, and indeed in all the Spains, generally speaking,

Roman fortresses in Africa

the lords had already another way of
building from that of the north, taken over
from Byzantium and transmitted, in part
at least, along the shore of Africa. It was
derived from the Roman, and Lemsa in
Algeria affords a perfect example. The 1.
Roman camp, the fortified posts of Justin- 2.
ian, the desert palaces of Irak and Arabia 3.
Petrea—this sequence leads up to the
Alcázars of Seville and Toledo, the castles
of Medina del Campo and Medina del
Pomar, Coca, and Turégano. The other,
the Crusaders' tradition, however, of the
Saracens in the Holy Land may be traced
also in Spain from a very early date on
down, at Almodóvar del Rio and Segovia
and Peñafiel, so that one need only lay
side by side, for a moment, a photograph
of Cañete or Alcalá de Guadeira and a fine
old drawing of Krak of the Knights, to
recognize the identity.

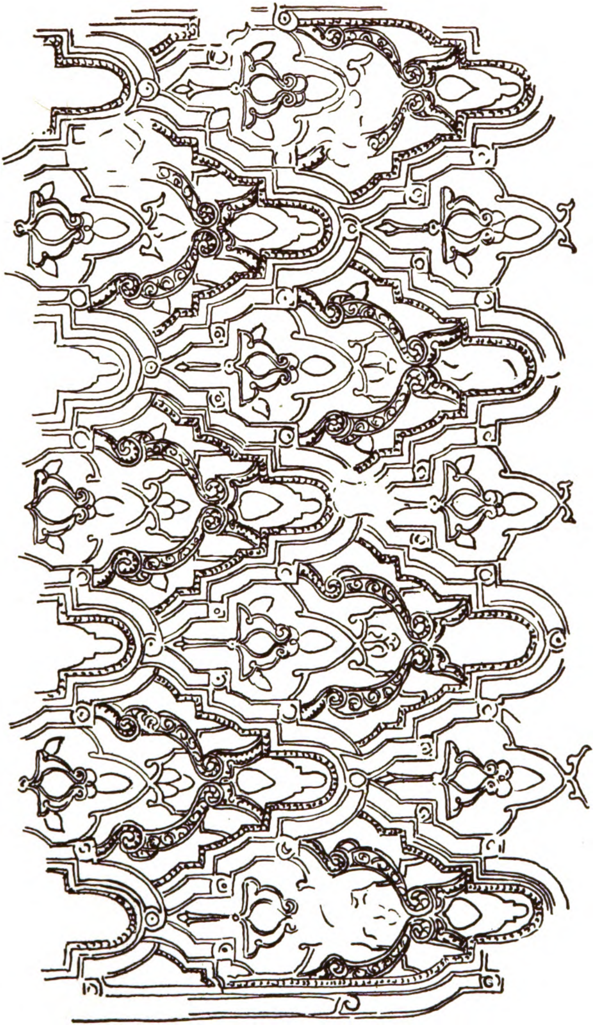
In the matter of castles in Spain the present writer is not guiltless of divagations, which may be found elsewhere. Here it must suffice to say that things happened as related above. Before speaking of the Mudéjar castles and palaces, a note is needed about city walls.

Walled Towns

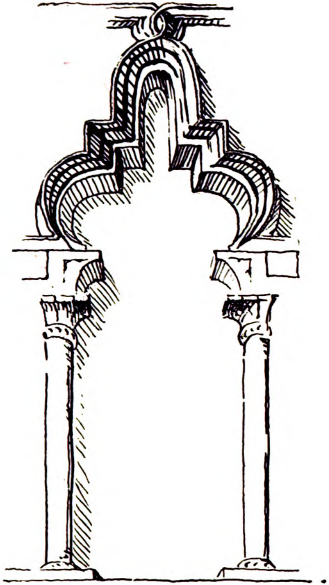
Whoever has read Procopius'[1] *Six Books on the Buildings of the Lord Justinian* will remember the fortification of Edessa and Dara, and has perhaps already recalled it, in travelling, at the sight of Carcassonne or Avignon. The triple enclosure, the "battering" of the walls, the *chemin-de-ronde* corbelled out along the inner face of the curtain wall and carried straight through the towers, the alternation of lesser and larger towers along the walls and the towers at the corners, the massy battlements: these traits passed early into Spain. How in Mudéjar building they were modified appears most plainly in the castles strictly so-called, especially the cornice carried on corbelling and so also the lesser towers and turrets; the free use of polygonal towers; and at the last, a patterning or decoration of the wall itself which is very ancient and Asiatic.

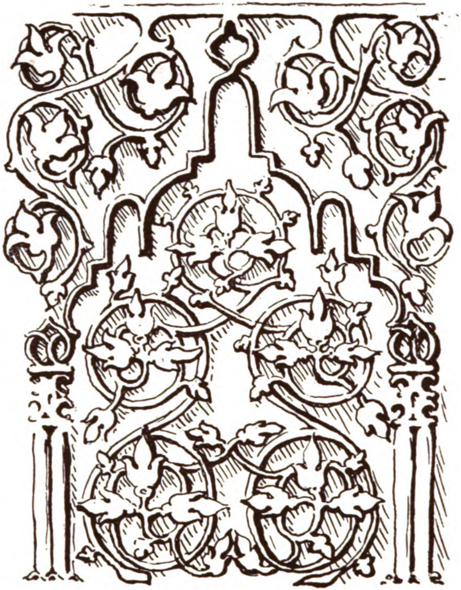
Plate LXXXIII

The red walls of Daroca are famous as Mudéjar building, though portions probably are Moorish: towers and gates were



El Transito, Design of Plaster Work





Mudéjar Arches

1. Arcading, S. Maria la Blanca

2. Arcading in Plaster Work, Casa de Mesa

built in 1412–52. The towers are often rectangular and often terminate toward the exterior in half a hexagon; I do not recall that any of them are round. A tower at Almazán is almost circular, tangential to the angle. At Teruel, again, they jut out in a segmental curve, or a stilted semicircle, as at Maqueda; at Cuellar rectangular and circular interchange without the reasons being apparent. From these towers the battlements have crumbled away for the most part. Madrigal de las Altas Torres can show few towers now, and of the circular walls I think no parts survive except to flank the gates, or where a low house was built against or into them, and now repays the one-time protection by preserving a remnant and a memory.

Plate LXXXIV

The City Gate

The gate-towers of Madrigal are of the sort called open-throated, like the Puerta de Serranos[1] at Valencia, and the gates of Cagliari and Avignon. That is to say, the inner wall is absent. The idea was that citizens may be more dangerous than outsiders to the gate-wards, and military may be a menace to the city, so they keep the space open behind each other's backs as a security for good faith. The Valencian gate gives the type at its best, and though it is not often classed as Mudéjar work it is derived from the East by the same channels, whereas Lugo and Avila mark another line of descent. Pedro Balaguer built it in 1395.

Eastern

not Roman

A pair of towers project far out in order to make the passage hard to force; at Valencia they are polygonal, which is in the Mohammedan tradition; the upper part is corbelled out on stepped brackets, and the battlements are carried on similar but smaller ones, with wide machicolations; the flat wall between these towers is vertical, and behind it the portcullis moves, but the outer face is adorned with interlacing arches and engrailment. Pure Mudéjar exists at Toledo in the Puerta del Sol and the Puerta Visagra, and at Ciudad Real in the Toledo Gate there. In these instances an outer arch and wall on columns rises above the gate-arch proper, concealing and supporting the *peine* or portcullis. At Granada, Niebla,

Plate LXXXV

and in one of the gates at Badajoz the entrance turns at a right angle inside the tower; this is entirely oriental. The Puerta S. Esteban at Burgos is peculiar in that the towers project backward toward the town, as though the chief danger lay there; and at Burgos as at Daroca a sort of corbelled arcading is carried across the face of the front. This grows into a beautiful ornament at Jadraque, in the Medinacoeli country, by passing around the gate towers which have dwindled into corbelled turrets. The gate at Almazán, very simple, is very fine in proportions, but differs from most in lacking a cornice. It is the pyramidal-crested battlement carried on corbels that gives its special beauty to all this Spanish fortification, unlike as possible to the wooden *hourdes* of French and English military engineers. Plate LIV

§ 2

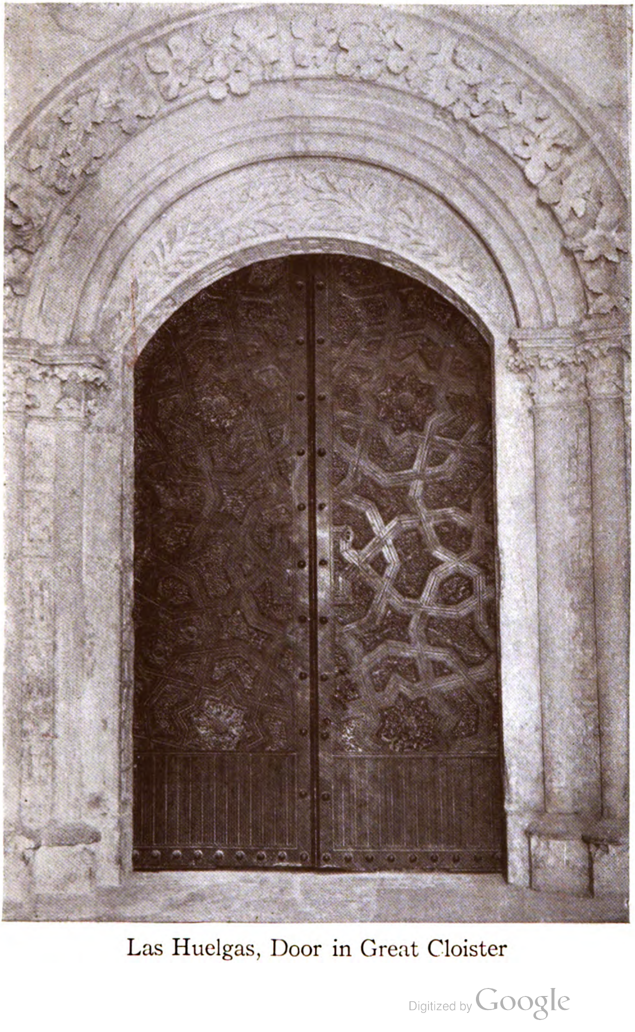
Palaces

Of the great outbreak of building in the fifteenth century the churches yet stand to testify, the universities and town halls; but the castles and palaces are mostly ruinous.

Where space in this little book is so nearly at an end it will be best to select a very few instances for analysis, and choose them from that category which is least known and most characteristic.

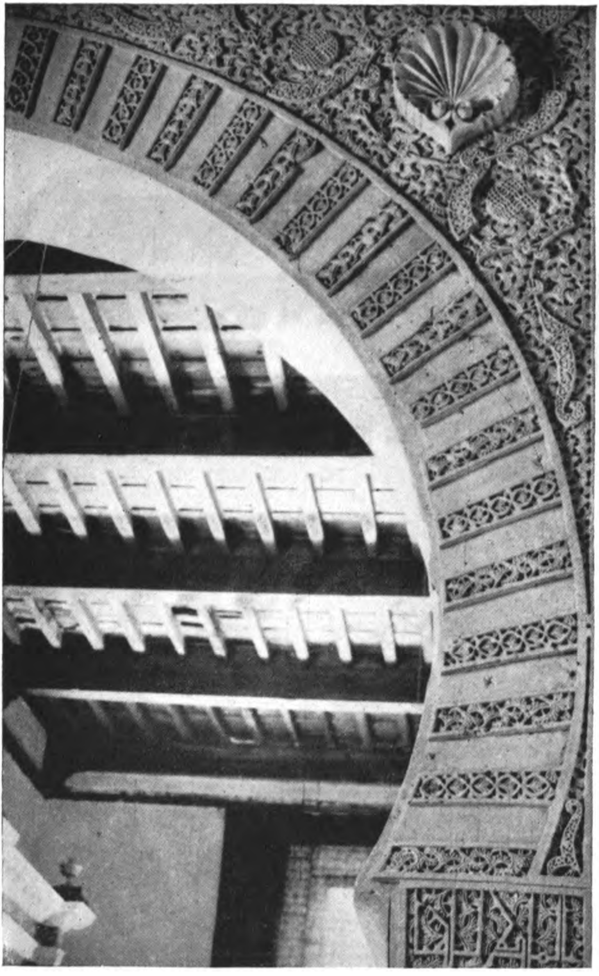
A secular art splendid and evocative

Mudéjar art was always at its best secular, by its own nature and the conditions of the craft, and always well-liked by great folk, as various, sumptuous, abstract, and evocative like music. There was a workman named Juan Guas who built a palace for the Dukes of the Infantado in Guadalajara and a castle for them at Manzanares the Royal—well-named—on the hillside above its quiet lake. With his work may be compared the town-house of the Medinacoeli at Cogolludo and the Fonseca castle at Coca. These are representative. The convent palaces of Tordesillas and Astudillo are inaccessible; the castles of Medina del Pomar and Medina del Campo are the one too ruined and the other too restored. Of the Alcázar at Seville it is very hard to speak in this connection, for it is completely Moorish, so planned, so decorated as to be more like



Las Huelgas, Door in Great Cloister

LXXIV



Las Huelgas, Door to Chapel of S. James

Mudéjar temper, the Mudéjar soil, appear again in conjunction.

Vaulting ribs

Elsewhere, as for instance at Segovia, or in the new cathedral of Salamanca, the conventions of Gothic ribbing are preserved in the vaults, but the patterns are quite unlike lierne vaulting in France, or the fan-vaulting which was contemporary in England. The pattern of the vault tracery on the plan of Salamanca is not like the pattern of tiles, for all its elaboration, since tile patterns are polygonal and this is full of curving lines. On the plan of Segovia it is like the fine-threaded lace that women make with netting-shuttles. Always there are segmental arcs and reentrant angles and ogee curves. The pattern at Calahorra is like leaf-veining, at Segovia like lotus buds and bells, at Ciudad Real like orchids. Indeed at Segovia the restless, evasive, never-returning movement of the nave vaulting evokes the ghost of Enrique IV like a breath of incense in the air. And there is a picture of Salamanca in Lampérez's book which by some trick of lighting shows up the

Plate XLIX

The Long Way back

tri-dimensional aspect of the aisle-bay in such intricate interlocking of polygonal cells as recalls the interpenetrant forms that occur in Khorassan.

For in the Segovia[39] of Enrique IV, from the middle of the fifteenth century, a special adaptation of Gothic to Mudéjar had taken place. As in the new cathedral of Salamanca, so in the new cathedral of Segovia the reticulation and run of the ribbing must recall on the one hand, the intention of *laceria*, and on the other, evoke by the strong relief and the irregular angular compartments that strange adaptation of polyhedral cells and intersecting surfaces in the sanctuaries of eastern Persia at Chargird (xv c.) as later at Nishapur (xviii c.), and Chodsha Rabi (xvii c.) at Mesched in Khorassan.[40] There at the same date men were seeking the same plastic combinations, with the same intention to evoke a mood; and the form was to pass westward and in other instances northward, through Styria all the long way to Dantzig up that unknown road to the Baltic which ran east of the Carpathians and brought an Armenian once into the Mark of Brandenburg. Just how Aragon and Castile came to know that portion of the inner East remains for historians to relate, but the correspondences already indicated point certainly not merely to Persia but to Khorassan, Seistan, Afghanistan. Massy building at Arévalo and Tus, towers at Saragossa and Ghazna, vaulting at Segovia and Mesched, do not correspond by a pre-established harmony but by a geographically-demonstrable intercourse.

to Baltic

and Atlantic shores

It is only in certain regions of Spain, well-defined, well-characterized, that we find another mark of orientalism, where the ornament is disposed equally over the entire face of the stone, without pattern and without accent. The Casa de las Conchas at Salamanca, the Casa de los Picos at Segovia, are famous instances dotted over with cockle-shells and nail-heads respectively; the Seminary at Baeza substitutes for nail-heads in the central portion a more elaborate Renaissance flower, so also the Osuna palace portal

All-over pattern

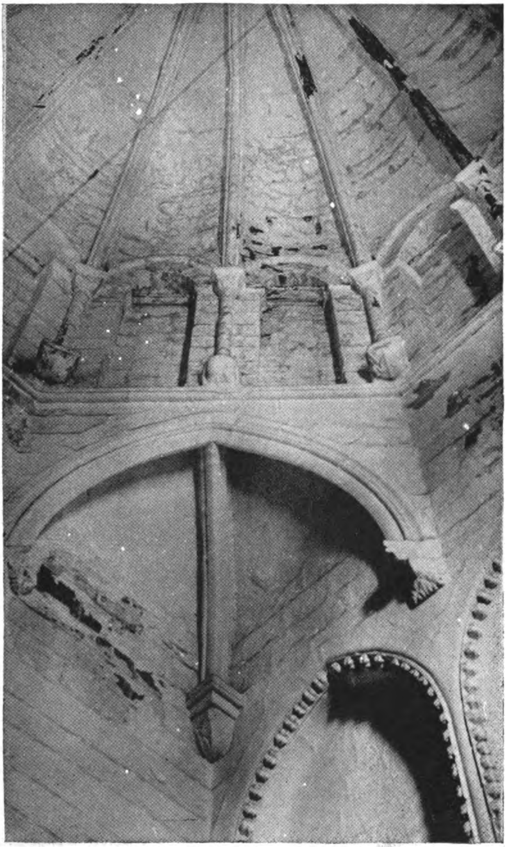
from Marchena, now in Seville. This particular sort of decoration is, however, so far as I know, exclusively secular. Other examples will appear later on.

On the whole, in stone building, the Mudéjar traits are present chiefly in decoration or in lesser members—in the carving of capitals and doorways, the ribbing of domes and vaults. In Aragon, the Lombard squinch appears in important buildings but elsewhere, in little poor churches of the eastern slope and in the Castiles (including León), the east-Mediterranean squinch was adopted, and passed into Romanesque art by the intermediation of Mudéjars.

§ 3

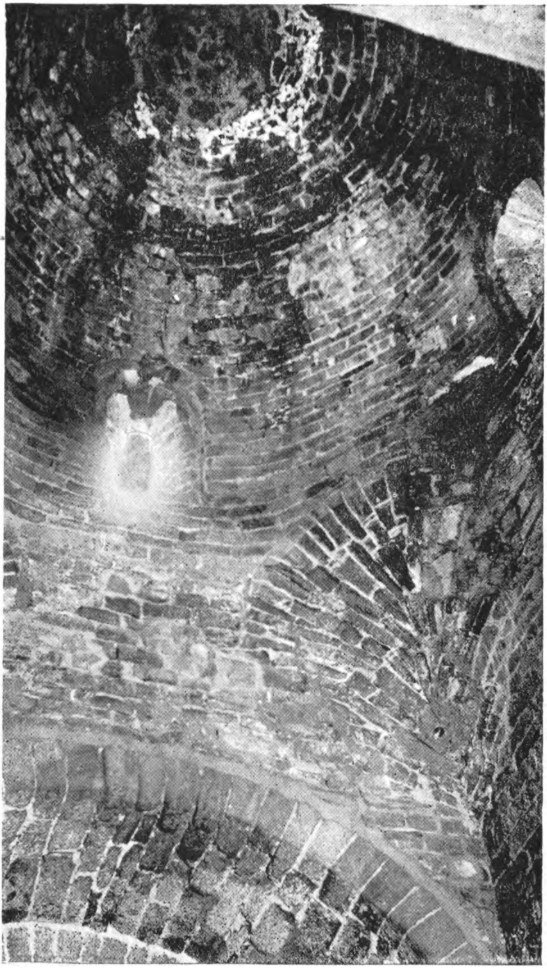
Wood

Spain has never had an architecture of wood, perhaps because the northern peoples were never a factor in the civilization.[1] Not that Spain wanted the means—there was good wood enough. In the sixteenth century Fernández de Oviedo cites the Cid's house in Burgos as five hundred years old with timbers yet sound. Long



Plasencia, Old Chapter Room

XLIV



Squinch, S. Maria de Cervelló

before, Edrisi had spoken of the mountains of the river Oja whence the timbers were floated down the Ebro to the port of Tortosa, and of the region of Quelaza the wood from which was much used for building in Valencia. We too have leaned over a bridge in Cuenca, when autumn rains had swollen the Jucar, and watched the wood coming down. Yes, for industrial purposes there were forests of pine and chestnut, groves of walnut and cedar; Spanish Romanesque is contingent upon a supply of wood for centering, and Spanish Mudéjar is characterized by timber roofs.

Quite apart from furniture, like desks, cupboards, and chests, in which even where the dominant style is Renaissance Mudéjar elements of design are apt to reappear, and apart from the wooden doors, where the same designs of *laceria* are used as in the ceilings, so that they need no separate consideration, three characteristic features demand attention: the eaves-bracket, the wooden hood or roof jutting over a doorway, and the ceilings. Retables do not enter in, though the polychrome wood

Three features

sculpture is a principal glory of Spain, because, for one thing, the style of them is consciously Renaissance and Italianate, and for another, in Aragon where Mudéjar had its finest flowering the retables are more often of stone, and thirdly, they lie within that field of representative art that the Mudéjars were bound to eschew, like the Iconoclasts before them.

Eaves-bracket

The eaves-bracket comes with the tiled roof and can hardly be spared, but in vaulted Romanesque, as for instance upon the parish churches of Segovia, a richly carved corbel-course supplies its place. It was an important characteristic element in the Mozarabic epoch, and at Celanova in Galicia and Lebeña above the north shore, at Peñalva in the Vierzo, and S. Millan in the Rioja, may be seen examples which differ only in elaboration of ornamentation and subtlety of curvature from the Mudéjar stone bracketing[3] in the abbey of Huerta, where the great Archbishop D. Raymundo yet lies wrapped in his Mudéjar shroud.

The wooden bracket is true carpentry in

Aragon and in the provinces that touch the Biscay shore. Every traveler remembers the house fronts projecting, story above story, and topped by superb rafter-ends, in the narrow streets of Fuenterrabia; and the same sort of thing in Santillana del Mar, rather simplified. At La Alberca and the other towns in the Sierra de Gredos, where the houses above the ground floor are true timber-and-plaster, the procedure is identical, and here the Moorish element is so strong that one might safely call the people Mudéjars still who live under the shadow of the Peña de Francia. **Plate XCVI**

Wooden architecture of the North

One way to support a beam on posts is to nail a plank or a broad block on top of the post. This is wooden structure, and in the cloisters and *patios* of Salamanca and Segovia the record of it remains in the characteristic trapezoidal impost-block richly decorated, interposed between the capital and the lintel or frieze, itself carved or moulded, on which the upper story is carried. The device is proper to the architecture of wood and may be seen in Central Asia, Tibet and Turkestan and **Plates XLV, LII**

China. At Salamanca the earliest version logically of this *zapata* or "shoe" occurs in the porch of S. Boal; the most splendid is in the upper cloister of the convent of Las Dueñas. Neither of these is wooden and neither is Mudéjar, for Salamanca was rebuilt in the Renaissance, but they testify to what went before, as do the fantastic brackets in the *patio* of the Fonseca palace called La Salina. Only on Mudéjar soil in Spain have these forms burgeoned.

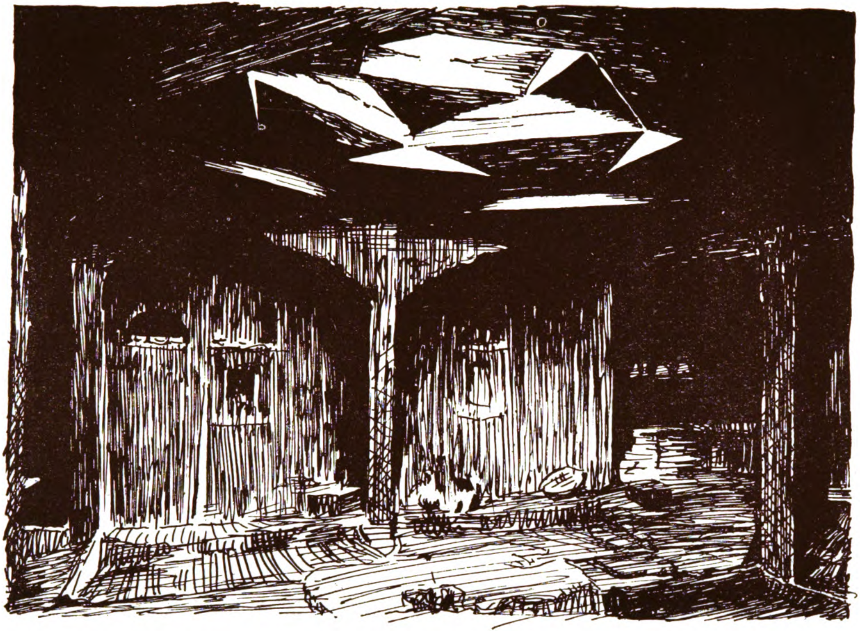
Zapata

Plate LI

At Saragossa and Teruel the wooden bracket is kept under the roof, built up in a series of wooden beam-ends projecting each above that below, until in full Renaissance the sculptured frieze is broken by open-work of brackets and the wide eaves are coffered like a ceiling, and pendants hung there, as in the Town Hall of Palma de Mallorca.[3] The same forms are used, though kept a little simpler, in order to sustain the timbered ceilings. Without and within doors the beams at times pierce the stone wall and at other times are themselves penetrated by the secondary timbers. They are always in tension, functional,

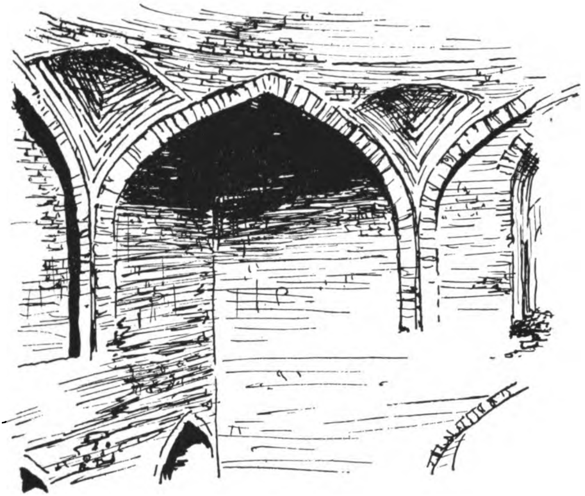
Plate LV

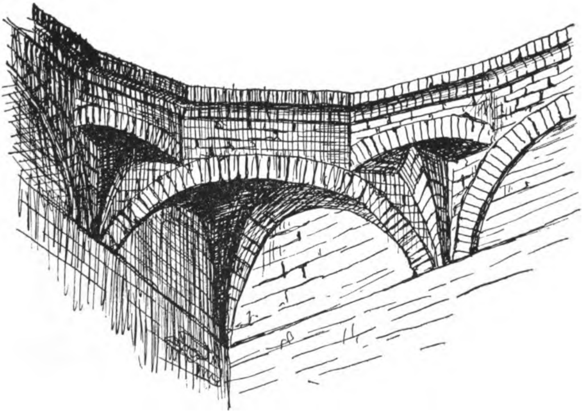
XLV



After Foucher

Ceiling at Miragram





Persian Squinches

1. Ferahabad 2. La Méjorada

alive. So much has been written on the decorative designs of the Spanish Renaissance that it seems unnecessary to pursue this further.

Porch

Nor is there much that needs to be said about the wooden penthouse projecting above a door.[4] It is notoriously Moorish like the *zapata* or shoe that carries a beam in supporting porticoes or ceilings, and like the crossing ribs in Mudéjar domes. This porch is inherited from the wooden architecture of the north, which passed through Central Asia and came back by North Africa. It constitutes the prime joy of artists sketching in Morocco and Algiers, it offers one of the most picturesque occasions in Seville, it shadows the plateresque portal of S. Maria in Calatayud and one of the late Gothic called Isabellan, ironically enough in this case, at S. Andrés el Real in Segovia, which was built by Isabella's unhappy brother Enrique IV. It is however strictly localized.

Plate LIV

Plate LIII

Ceilings

Spanish ceilings, too, are become a commonplace. The tourist, the antiquity-dealer and the architect have note-books

Well known

full of them. The best book ever made by Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley was devoted to the subject, and published seven years ago by the Hispanic Society. It is so good in range and wealth and beauty of presentation that it leaves little for this study to add; and since these pages were commenced the book of D. José Ráfols has come to hand, published at Barcelona by the *Editorial Labor*, which is cheap and comprehensible and comprehensive.

All in Mudéjar styles

In a *Kunstforschung* of the sort that this little book undertakes, the investigator is haunted by scruples. To see all things in God is well enough, but not to see too many in Mudéjar. Nevertheless, the former collaborators have affirmed that into nearly all the ceilings of Spain Mudéjar elements enter, and the latter authority says the same, and elsewhere, that "the elegant and delicate designs [of *laceria*, which is Moslem] constructed according to the precepts of López de Arenas persist until the end of the eighteenth century with a power of extraordinary suggestion." Moreover, the Moslem craftsmen were carpenters and decorators, in many parts the only ones; and, finally, the most numerous or the most magnificent ceilings are found in precisely those regions favourable to the Mudéjar culture—in the realm of Aragon (including Catalonia, Valencia, and Mallorca), in Toledo and Seville, along the line of the Duero, the Ebro and the Tagus, and at Granada. **Best in Mudéjar regions**

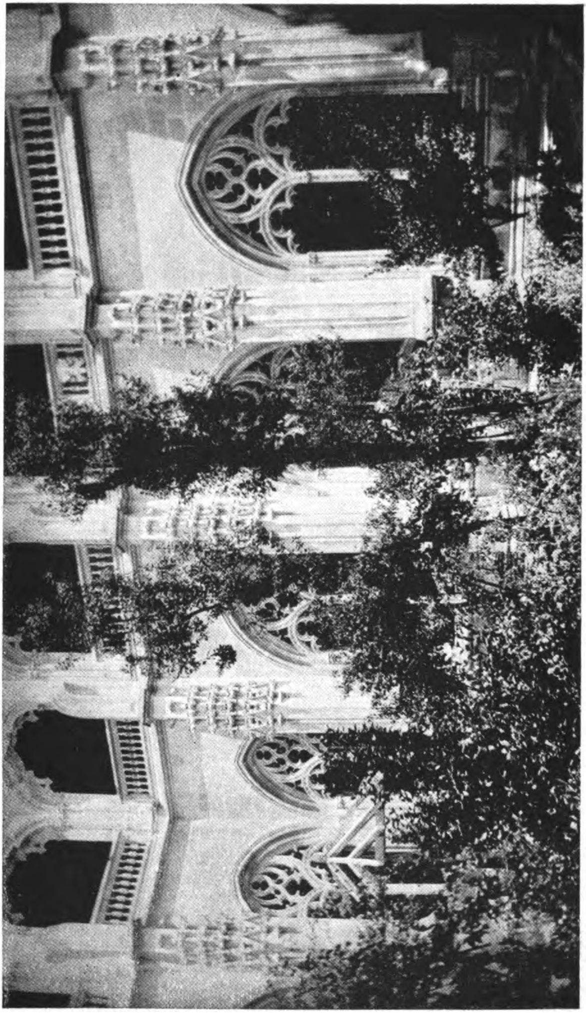
Ceilings may be flat, or may be lifted so 1. as to enclose space, and of this sort the commonest in Spain are those called *artesonados*, 2. from the word for a kneading-trough, or they may be domical, in the 3. form either of an octagon or of a half-orange, or, lastly, the level ceiling may be coffered, after the Roman manner. That 4. gives four sorts which will be considered successively. But they may be also classified according as the rafters are visible or all or most of them are concealed, as they are decorated with painting or with a *laceria* of interlacing polygons, or as the recessing and shadow-patterning employs *laceria*, *mocarabes* or Renaissance, that is, Italianate and classical, motives. In most cases, however, the master's intention is toward a spacial rhythm, for plain beamed ceilings in Seville employ a "grillage in three tiers with master-beams, secondary and small beams, these last directly supporting the floor above," while in the coffered ceilings of Toledo the sides just above the frieze are characteristically inclined.[5] The sole exception is one type of *alfarje* or ceiling in which the *laceria* is flush with the boards of the ceiling proper, or, more exactly, the boarding is brought forward to the intrados of the interlacing pattern.

Level

A.D. 1365 Plate LIX

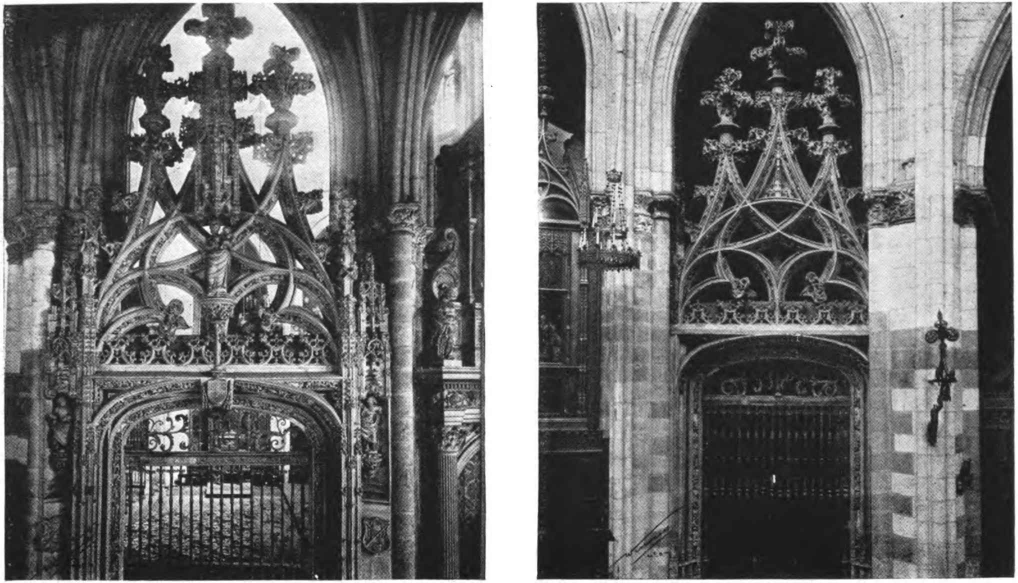
Before 1395

Perhaps the earliest dated example of the level timbered ceiling was in the castle of S. Coloma de Queralt,[6] where the decoration consists solely in a heraldic use of colour and the blazons of two noble families. In the decoration at Peratallada still extant green dominates in the rafters and red in the flooring above, with designs in black, white, and yellow; a stone arch that spans the room carries on the soffit rosettes and interlaces in circles, interlinked like Cosmato work; the timbers rest on



Isabellan Style: S. John of the Kings

XLVIII



Conopiales: Leon Cathedral

corbels at the wall. The cloister roof at Silos belongs to the fifteenth century, and is adorned with scenes of knightly sport and courtly play, including bull-fights. For all this polychrome ceiling-decoration, the painting consisted of three sorts: geometric designs, flora and fauna excessively stylized, and human figures single and in pairs, rarely larger groups, framed in a simple rectangle, hexagon, or at Silos in the Mudéjar stepped arch which employs a right angle in the cusping. It was done in tempera. Before leaving the painted ceilings Teruel[7] should be recalled, where above the vaults of the cathedral is preserved the old ceiling of *artesonado*, and there in the rectangles left by the design figures are depicted—some historical, certainly, but mostly genre types. This is work of the fourteenth century.

Mudéjar arch

We find fewer instances of the level roof in Castile. A small reception room in the rich palace at Guadalajara is, I think, unique in using pierced or gilded nail-heads, and gilded and twisted cord in place of the transverse strips. In Seville examples

A. D. 1492

Sold, unfinished, 1483

still abound; one in the so-called Casa de las Dueñas has a frieze of moulded plaster below which hangings were stretched, of tapestry or cordovan—what we call Spanish leather. In all those the best of the ornament is placed on the vertical sides of the beams.

Plate XL

In the Pyrenean castles (including Verdú) these ceilings are carried on great transverse arches of stone just as they are, for instance, at Alcañiz where the soffit is painted with the labours of the months, or in the chapter room at Sijena where it is painted with the ancestry of Christ. The present coffered ceiling of Sijena cannot be earlier than the fifteenth century, but as the spandrels were painted, at latest, in the beginning of the thirteenth we must suppose the earlier roof was of the common kind. Now the Knights of S. James held Alcañiz, but the ladies at Sijena are, to this day, a Chapter of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and the characteristic roofing system is Syrian, with timbers substituted for the slabs of basalt and limestone that rest on like arches at Tafha and Kanawat.

The present ceiling, however, is perfectly Mudéjar.

Elsewhere the transverse arches carry a sloping roof that follows more or less the proportions of the arch—for example, at S. Agueda, once the palace chapel in Barcelona. It is simply the flat roof creased and lifted in the middle. The novices' dormitory at Poblet is another famous instance; and the church of S. Michael at Barluenga is less known.

Sloping

Cf. Ráfols xxxvii

Before coming to the *artesonado* note should be taken of a few cases in which the roof is curved more or less like a stone barrel or waggon vault. The finest instance is the Prioress's Saloon at Sijena,[8] curved like the keel of a ship, built perhaps in the fourteenth century though not in the least French by the prioress, the Infanta Doña Blanca. Here tie-beams really hold the fabric braced; but in S. Pablo of Cordova and S. Clemente of Seville the polygonal structure of bewildering *laceria* is suspended from raftering which it conceals. The Casa de Mesa, in Toledo, is very nearly curved, though S. Pablo and S. Clemente

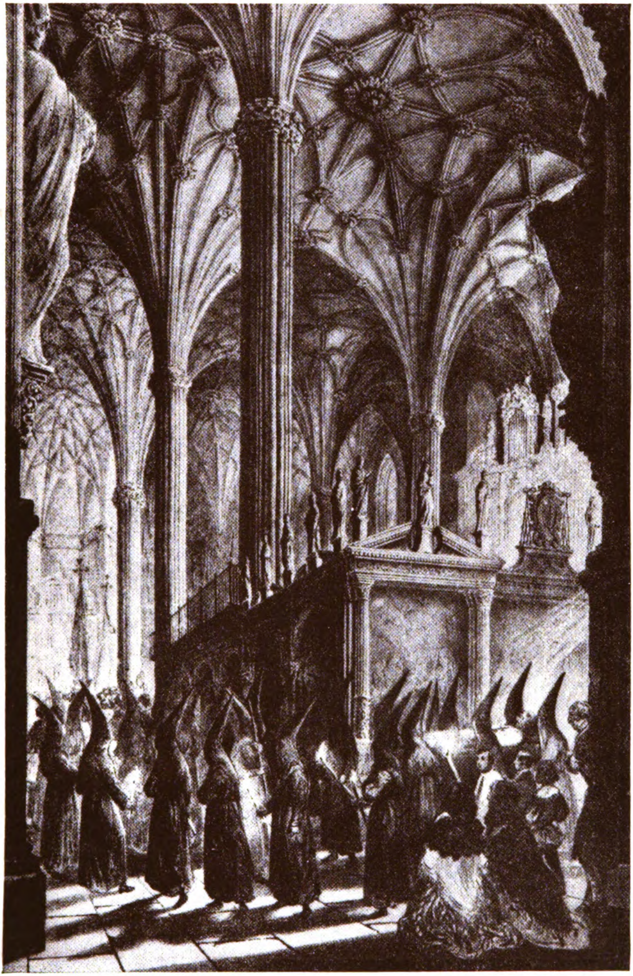
Curved

have three and five sides respectively, but while it is impossible to lay the interlacing polygons on a curve, yet when they are once laid a small angle cannot be perceived. The instances, however, are few, and not very successful.

Artesonado

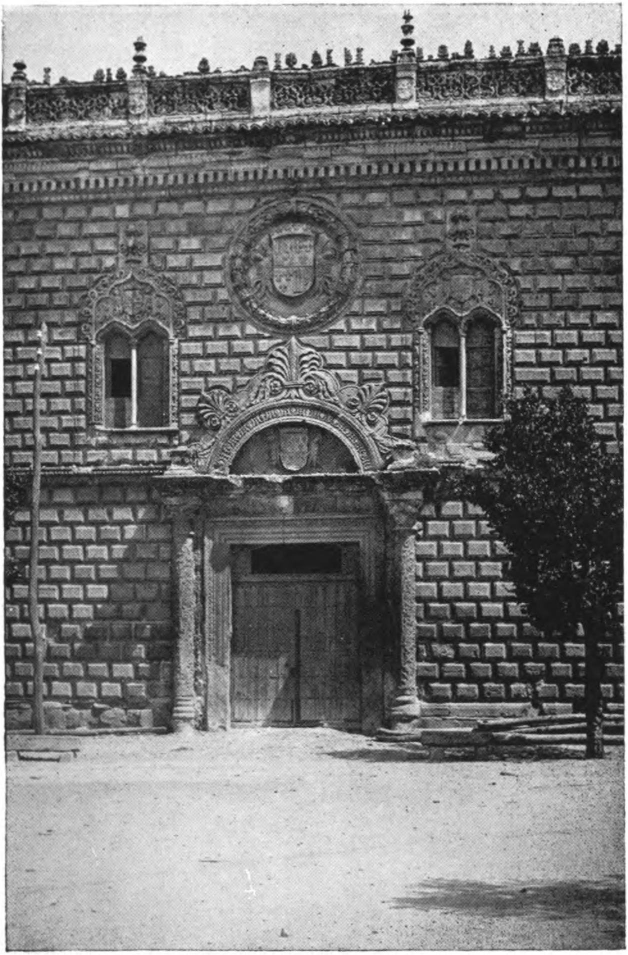
Pares y nudillo

The finest *artesonados*[9] are composed on the plan called *pares y nudillo,* like a letter A from which the upper triangle may be absent without being missed. That is, the section is trapezoidal. The pair of sloping rafters is separated and sustained by a central horizontal one. At the two ends of a rectangular room the "skirt," or inclined part, slopes down to its own wall, being adjusted to the side portions by something like a dressmaker's dart. As a matter of practice, these two edges are brought together rather intricately, each having its own framing timber, which is often connected with the one alongside by an interlace of angles. It is apparent that all the members except the centre are trapezoidal; so are they when the ceiling ends in half a hexagon and the inclined sides must be in three planes, with four



Procession in Barbastro Cathedral

L



The Portal, Cogolludo

junctions. Such angles have a special truss at the base. There may or may not be hip-rafters, but these occur usually in pairs when present, and they too are often connected by a band of interlaced polygons, or simply by their own lines of scoring that stop and knot themselves into angles mutually and go on again.

Relief of quietude

Plates LIX, LX

Plate LXII

Plate LXI

Beautiful in their seeming simplicity and relief of quietude are those ceilings like S. Juan de la Penitencia in Toledo where long inclined trusses run smooth and straight, or are broken only into a single band of polygons and knots, between a similar row at the upper edge and another like it at the bottom. But indeed, no two are alike. At Cuenca de Campos the geometric design is spread over the whole without relief except from the strong cornice and hip-rafters rather simply moulded, and at Madrigal de las Altas Torres, elsewhere, is adjusted to the angles and movements of a groined vault. The effect is overpowering. It is like those Masses where an orchestra of strings and wood-wind interweaves its themes under the overwhelming organ. It dizzies the spirit, it lulls and leads on the soul.

Laceria

M. Gayet,[10] who did not know Spain, believed that this sort of design with its interlace of racing polygons was invented in Egypt, and was merely an evolution which occurred under the Fatimite Caliphs of simple polygonal combinations that the Alexandrian Christians had learned from the most ancient Egyptians, that it expressed the Egyptian soul ever-recurrent and unalterably the same. His exposition is alluring, eloquent, and magical as the unending pattern is. Historically speaking, the art of *laceria* was known and practiced in Spain by the twelfth century, in the Mosque of Cordova; psychologically, the moods and feelings that it evokes and plays upon are proper to Spanish Islam also. Spanish scholars incline to believe that the form was invented in the Peninsula because it is found there in a pure state, rigorously geometrical to the last, while Egypt and the East play tricks with it, and alter and modulate the strict and mathematical logic of relations, in greater or less degree. On the other hand, they point out that Spanish craftsmen were using a borrowed form in the *mocarabes* or honeycomb cornices and pendants, which grew out of intricate complications of vaulting schemes somewhere in Asia. Before explaining, very briefly, the technique of *laceria* and *mocarabes*, the remainder of the ceilings must be considered.

Bosses and stalactites

In the strict composition of *pares y nudillo*, *mocarabes* are used with a sparing hand. On the horizontal panel down the centre, in the pattern with its intricate and symmetrical movement, the central polygons, three or five, may be graced with a deep pendant boss of the honeycomb, as for instance at the crossing in the Hospital Royal of Granada. The centre of an octagonal vault (there is one in the same hospital), or the focal points in an *artesonado*, like apse and angle, may be marked by large bosses and by lesser ones, and so also may be the centre of each of those dominant stars, made by the polygonal interlacing, that constitute the "theme"; a fine example is the ceiling at Tordesillas

Plates LXI, LXII

of the chapel, made perhaps for the palace hall. At the convent of S. Andrés el Real are several instances, one of which reveals how the principle of subordination and supremacy for which *laceria* affords no opportunity, comes back in the arrangement and proportion of the *mocarabes*. On the other hand, in certain sorts of coffered ceiling that use polygonal recesses but adorn the whole surface with *laceria* instead of moulding, the centre of each is a hollow honeycomb, deeply shadowed and far withdrawn: this may be seen, I think, in the Alhambra, in the palace at Guadalajara, and in the chapter rooms of Sijena and Toledo. Lastly, a frieze of *mocarabes* is a superb enhancement and as such was employed at Tordesillas, Guadalajara, in the vanished halls of the Alcázar of Segovia, and above the staircase of the palace at Peñaranda del Duero, now despoiled and decaying.

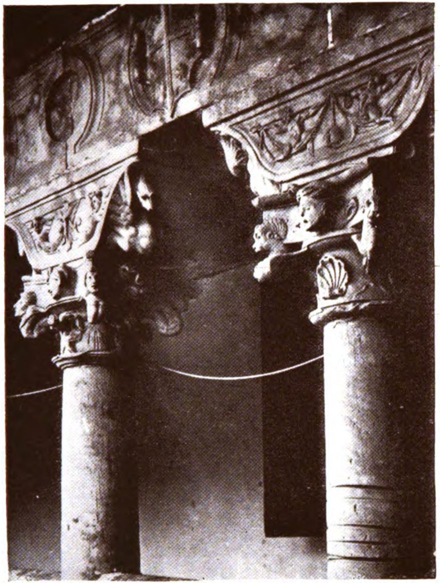
subordination and supremacy

Plate XL

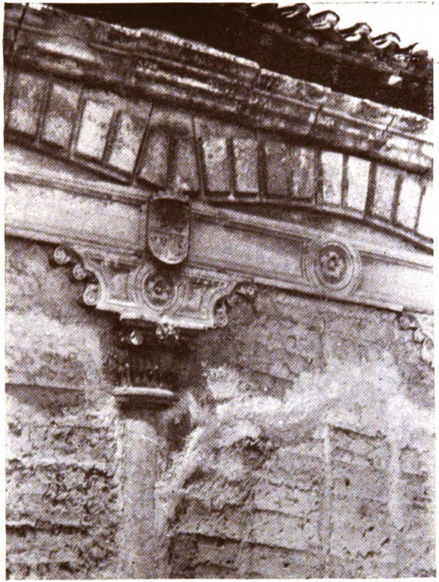
Plate LVII

How a dome was impossible to Visigoth or Mozarab of the north has been said elsewhere; it was the heritage of the East. Even the humble craftsmen who were

Zapatas

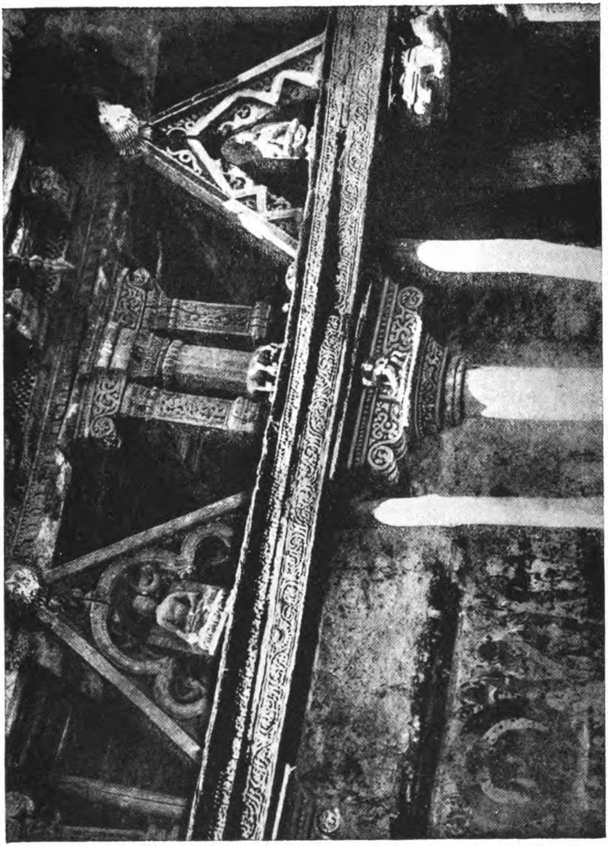


1. Salamanca, Las Dueñas



2. Cogolludo

LII



Zapatas and Cusped Arches in Tibet

Mudéjars took to it kindly, either as half-orange, or as cloistered vault, or as simply a timber roof, lifted over an octagonal space. In the Casa de las Dueñas at Seville, it is built like any other ceiling of *pares y nudillo*, with a level octagon at the top; the one at Granada, already mentioned, leaves room but for a mere border of interlaced polygons about the pendant. The great staircase of Spanish Renaissance is never so noble as when it culminates in a half-orange, as at the *Real Maestranza* of Saragossa, the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, or the archbishop's palace at Alcalá where other archives now are lodged in the chambers of the princes of the Church.

Domical

The coffered ceilings, however splendid, are mainly interesting here for their disposition to adjust and combine unlike polygons: triangle, lozenge and octagon, hexagon and eight-pointed star, and the converse of this, a saltire where each arm is carried out to a right angle to fit it into the square coffering. Plain square caissons at the Casa de Pilatos are filled with *laceria*,

Coffered

or, in the antechamber to the chapter room of Toledo, the coffering itself is a bold *laceria*, moulded, carved, and painted with Renaissance ornament.

Structurally these various sorts of ceiling are not all alike. **Plate LXIV** Some are actually mortised and fitted in all their intricacy, for instance in the Old Town Hall of Granada, but often the pattern is simply made by nailing the strips on the planking, **Plate XXIV** as in the chapter room of Tordesillas the plaster ribs are moulded. The former method might be compared to weaving and the latter to embroidery, both are forms of ornament.

Gallery In the realm of Aragon an upper gallery sometimes runs around the hall just under the ceiling, as in the Hall of Ambassadors the Aljaferia at Saragossa and the Hall of the Cortes at Valencia, and under the staircase domes, already cited, at Barcelona and Saragossa. Here again the timber structure makes little demand, it gives lightness and delight, and corbelling is security enough to satisfy the eye.

Three things must be remembered in

imaging the ceilings: first, that the composition is never flat and rarely still, the design is conceived as advancing and retreating, or else as moving across a field which is separate and withdrawn; secondly, that the use of colour is frequent and forcible, in the earlier centuries very brilliant, later, in Renaissance Andalusia, harmonious with much of silver-grey and black, and only at a late date and in certain regions restricted to the richness of the dark oiled wood, gold also being prodigally employed; and thirdly, that a linear design overlays the geometry, picking out certain motives for emphasis while relieving the repetition and enhancing the movement and conscious subtlety.

Effect:

Movement

colour

and reduplication

§ 4

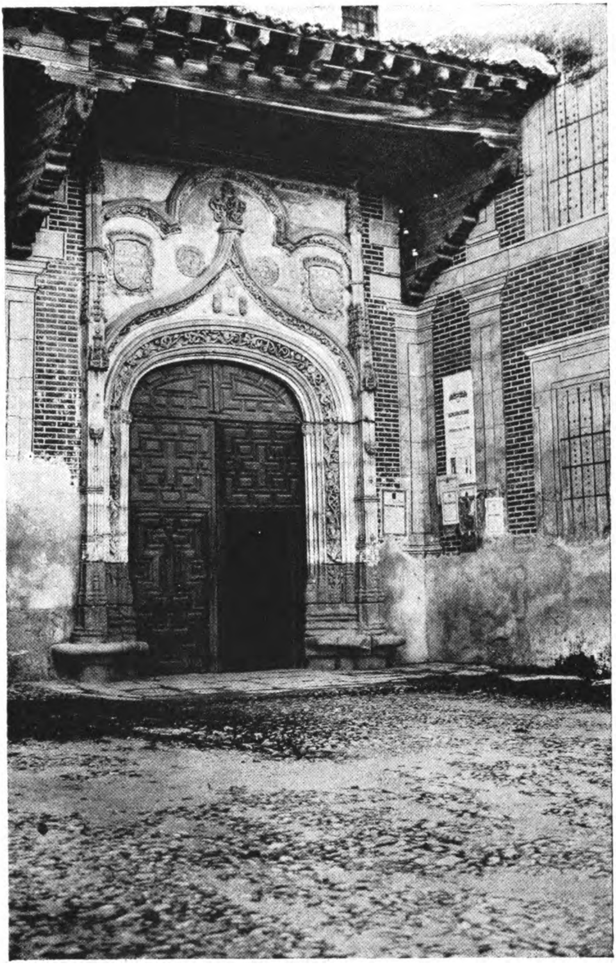
Practice

Laceria and *mocarabes* are matters difficult to discuss for want of an English terminology, but the principles may be explained in simple words and into the technique of a craft this little book cannot go.

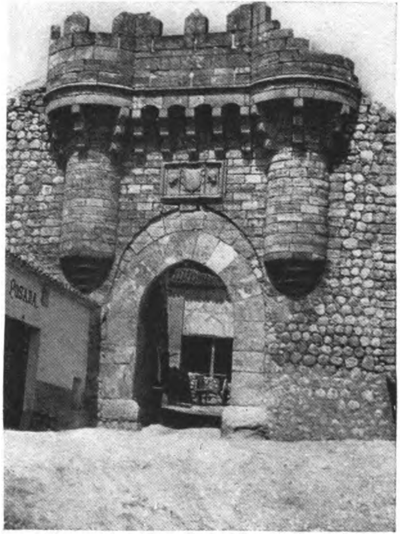
In 1633 Diego López de Arenas published his book on *Carpinteria de lo Blanco* *y Tratado de Alarifes*—a record for master-workmen, among whom he ranked, of what seemed a dying craft. It was republished in the eighteenth century, and again in the nineteenth, lastly in 1912. Sr. Ramírez de Arellanos has recovered, among his *Artists Disinterred*,[1] those men, *alarifes* themselves, who signed a contract in Cordova in 1572, the details of which explain a good deal about the carpentry that they undertook in making a ceiling there.

Wooden triangles hung up on a nail

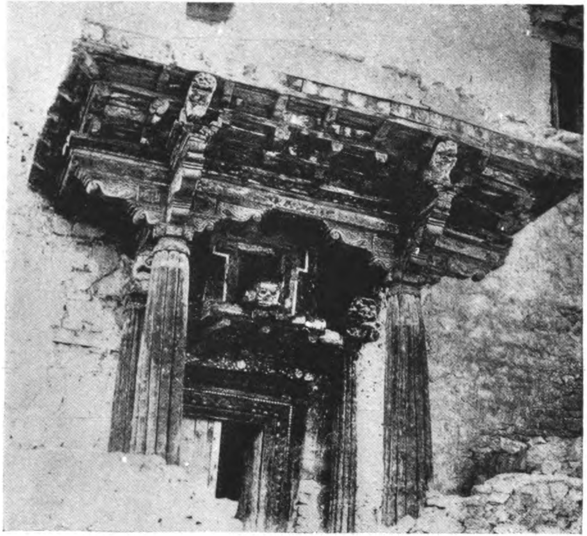
It is now nearly a quarter of a century since the engineer Sr. Prieto y Vives worked out the whole system mathematically, in four points of decimals, that López de Arenas had done by geometry and a pair of compasses, and his workmen, apparently, with a string, a piece of chalk, a plumb, a foot-rule, and some dozen of *cartabones*. These were a set of right-angled triangles that gave the complementary angles in varying proportions. There was a *cartabon cuadrado* that measured angles of 90° and 45°, then eleven others serving for successive angles often



S. Andrés el Real, Porch



1. Jadraque, Gate



2. Porch in Tibet

used, and named from the fraction of a semicircle that each embraced (*i.e.*, in the *cartabon* of 10 the lesser angle was $\frac{180°}{10} = 18°$), namely those of 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20; finally the *ataperfiles* corresponding to each, similar draftman's triangles in which the lesser angle was just half the greater angle of the corresponding *cartabon*, and López de Arenas calls for two *ataperfiles* to each *cartabon*. This simple and admirable system explains how it was possible for the illiterate craftsman to work well and imaginatively, combining at will the various themes of star and polygon, with their infinity of lines that run parallel and cross and form irregular and asymmetrical polygons but always emerge again without confusion.

Plate LVI

In the carpenter's shop

Laceria, then, is the ornament formed by interlaced bands, always straight or bent at a determinable angle. The *lazo* or knot is the starred polygon of 4, 6, 8, 10, up to 20 sides, which is left at the centre of such interlacing bands, and a theme is the complete decorative motive formed by the interlacing bands. In any composition—a tile, a door, or a ceiling—the design is constituted by repetitions of the theme, slightly modified for pleasanter adjustment. Take the 8-fold knot,[2] for example. Two sets of bands compose it—the 8 bands of the inner set crossing each other rather close to the centre, and the other 8, while they contribute to form the sides of the starred central polygon, cross further out and design a larger polygon. But none of the bands ever comes back again. Prieto felt that the **Plate LXVI** 10-fold knot yielded the most perfect harmony of composition, and drew out a complete piece of this pattern; the reader who cares to follow out across the whole field the set of 10 bands that encompass **Magic** a single star will perhaps a little enter into the mood of Mudéjar art and of all the art of Islam, and apprehend in part why Spanish art can exercise such power over the spirit. It may not be insignificant that while M. Gayet, in writing of Arab work in Egypt, is preoccupied with the polygons, their rhythm and their colours, the essential in Spanish *laceria* is not the polygonal interstices but the moving lines of the pattern.

Laceria defined

Simple *laceria* is formed by identical themes united directly or inversely, their centres being homologous points in a field divided regularly by imaginary lines into rectangles and lozenges. These give two axes of symmetry perpendicular to each other, and on these the crossing angles and the parallels of the bands are calculated. Double *laceria* combines two themes, which must have the same unit of measurement. But in any case the actual pattern may be modified, for convenience or the pleasure of the eye, by suppression of certain lines, or substitution of others, or a partial inversion. For instance the 4-fold knot, which is the commonest in the East and which serves especially in compositions of the *pares y nudillo* type, with rather simple suppressions or none, may be seen in the roof of S. Juan de la Penitencia; it leaves the familiar eight-pointed star as a centre.

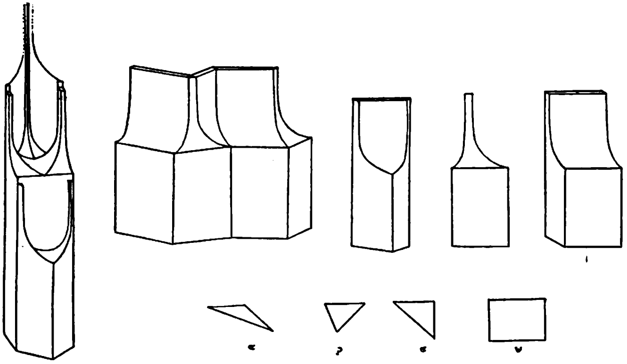
Plate LX

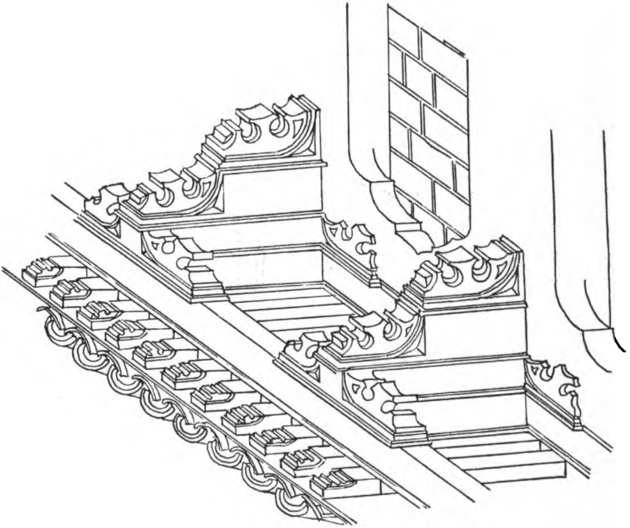
The ornament is especially suited for

wood, with its absence of curves, and for play of colour, in heraldic countercharging and in the lines of scoring upon the long, restless bands. Parallelism and crossing, intricacy and familiarity, change in recurrence—these are the principal elements that the *alarife* had at his disposal. We cannot, as Prieto is right in saying, assume that every "knot or motive has the value of a phrase," but remembering the intricate mathematics of old music, and the precise effect that one master at least knew how to draw from the recurrence of a phrase—whether Valhalla or the Grail or the Shadowy Land—we may perhaps admit that the themes have something like the value of a musical phrase. The Arabs attached specific significance and potency to certain numbers, and the inflexible geometry that governed these compositions made possible at least the same sort of significance as exists in *Leitmotiven* or as in religious art attaches to colours, the blue of the *Purisima*, the scarlet of the Magdalen, the white of the Horsemen that ride on white horses. Like

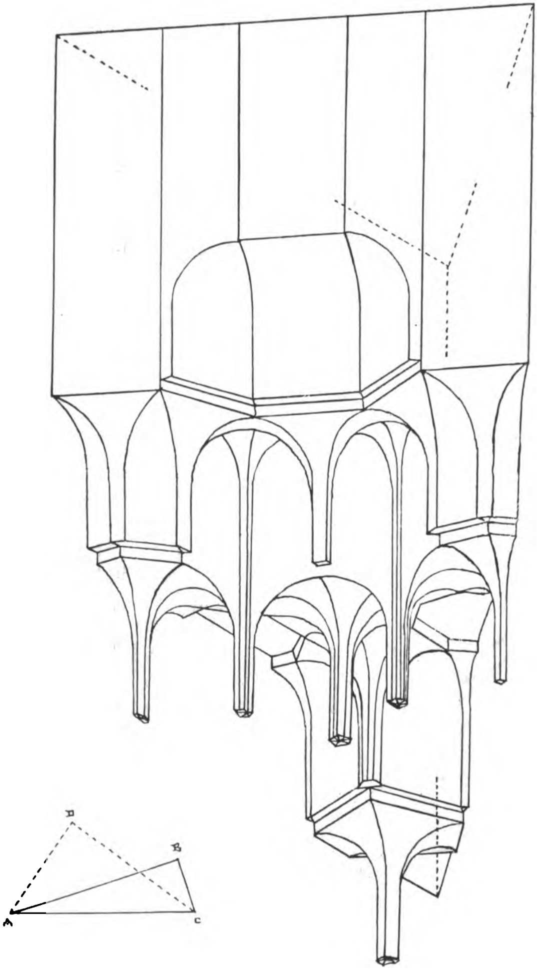
Antinomies

Numerical significancy





1. Eaves-Brackets in Saragossa
2. Prisms Used in Honeycomb Vaulting



Honeycomb, unit
ABC, Cartabon; ADC, Ataperfiles

S. Sophia, these churches were made for sitting in, hour after hour, motionless but vaguely aware. The ceilings lean and brood, the tiles give occupation to the eye without penetrating the thought, so that it is only afterwards that we remember the stars and the unequal hexagons as one once remembered that the woodspurge has a cup of three.

Dominating the mood

Laceria was employed in Spain at least as early as the thirteenth century and perhaps in the twelfth. It is not yet completely disused. It serves for work in plaster, especially the *esgrafiado* that decorates house-fronts in certain regions; for brick work; for all sorts of cabinet work and joinery; for tiles. At Poblet a few portions of paving have been discovered, laid in sections of cut stone after the manner of the early tiles called *alicatados*. In all these cases except the plaster work the material encourages, if it does not enforce, a pattern of straight edges and short lengths: the humble conditions of Mudéjar work are operative always.

Plate XCIV

Honeycomb is the best name for what

the *alarifes* called *mocarabes*, a method of ornament which is not, like *artesonados*, restricted to Spain but which there had more and more varied uses than elsewhere. And indeed for one traveller who remembers the Palatine Chapel at Palermo, twenty will recall the palace of the Alhambra. Not only cornices and friezes but bosses and pendants of *mocarabes* are a regular ornament of Spanish ceilings, even in the Gothic and Renaissance styles; and where you have not the clusters you have often the correlative form, hollow, like a tiny dome of shells or a half-pomegranate from which the seeds have been picked out one by one; for instance, at Sijena at the core of the octagons in the coffering. Or there is an antechapel at Las Huelgas; the roof of the chapel of the Assumption to which this leads is a magnificent honeycomb ceiling, and so is that above the staircase of S. Gregorio of Valladolid, and the chamber at Guadalajara called the Hall of Genealogies. These are impossible to photograph, with their play of reflected lights and illusive shadows. They are like

Honey-comb

Plate XL

that of the Mosque at Cordova which was likened to "the kindled flame, or the lightning flash that darts across the heavens." Never was builder's invention more at variance with his means. The law of gravitation and mass are flouted. Consider the pendentives and vault of the Sala de los Abencerrajes; this wall does not stand or thrust, it dangles; this substance, like that of the cubist painters, is penetrable by an act of will, and felt in the very solid of it by the choice of the beholder's imagination.

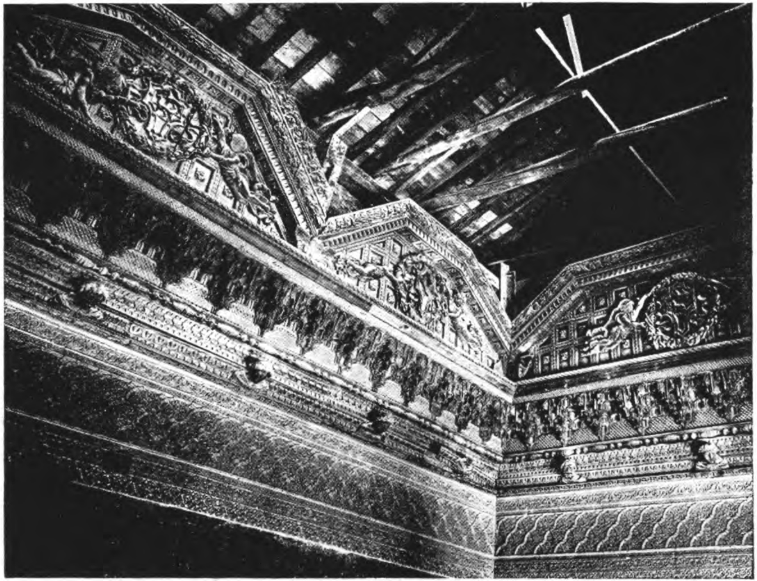
Derived from timber or tent

In Christian Spain the material is wood, though plaster serves in the Alhambra; in both cases the archetype must be sought in stone building of the East. "*Mocarabes* are wooden prisms, set back to back, without leaving any voids, and cut in the lower part by a simple moulding," says Prieto,[3] adding that they form, thus combined, the strangest mixture of restriction and liberty that ever served for ornament.

Mocarabes defined

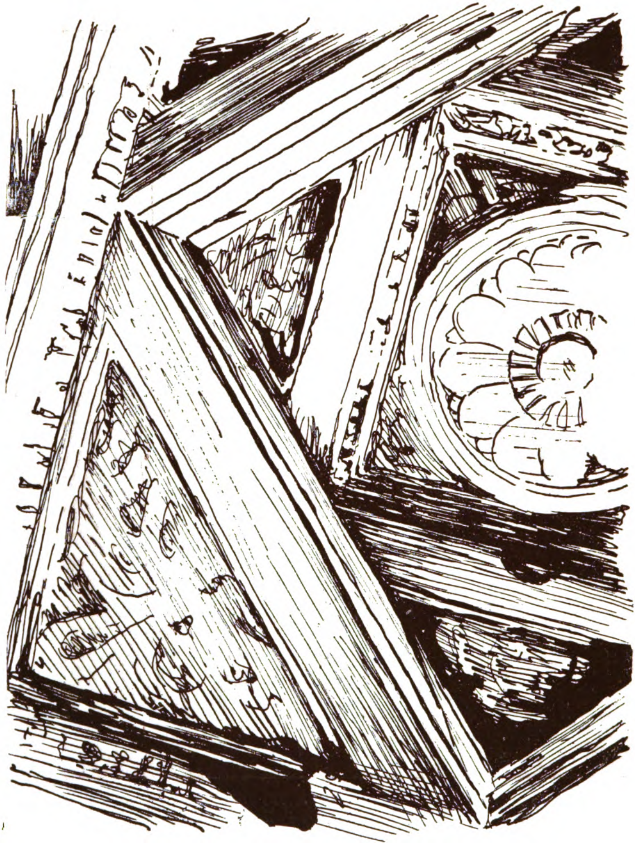
The geometry is simple. The elements are four prisms, one of which is rectangular and the other three isosceles triangles in section, with angles of 90°, 45°, and 135° respectively, and a cylindrical moulding cuts the face of the prisms horizontally in a curve that Diego López de Arenas set down and preserved for us. Plates LV, LVI The drawings after Prieto show the fundamental forms and some simple combination of them, and the plane plan is, of course, an assemblage Plates LXIII, LXIV of polygons, chiefly octagonal or hexagonal, set about with a few rectangles and innumerable triangles. Symmetry is essential in the sense that it was in *laceria*, that is, correspondence and repetition of motives. The process of construction at the Alhambra is the same, except that the prisms are cast in plaster. In short, the honeycomb work of Spain is purely ornamental, as it is at Cairo, I believe—never structural. This would confirm Prieto's observation that at the outset we find it a completed conception and it never is modified or altered, to the end, which goes to show that it is an importation and not a growth, while the identity of style throughout the four centuries in which it

LVII



Peñaranda: Remains of Staircase Ceiling

LVIII



Ceiling at Pandrethan

Copied after wooden architecture of the north flourished makes it useless for dating monuments.

Of the source and history of the honeycomb ornament archaeologists have written little, and even less have they written wisely. The late Phené Spiers,[4] however, in that curious way that is so creditable to English architects as a class, went into the question and set down the best that was accessible until Ernst Diez,[5] in his book on Persia, brought up for consideration all that has been discovered in this century about the innermost parts of Asia. The true home of the honeycomb vaulting is Irak, where it originated between A. D. 1000 and 1200, as the so-called tomb of Zobeide is standing to witness; and builders came up from the plains of Irak into the Iranian uplands and spread it there, as the distribution and dating of the monuments can show. But behind it lies the Buddhist art of Turkestan, brought westward by nomads converted indeed to Islam but not quite forgetful of their ancestral memories—the innumerable niches, the multitudinous images, of caves and temple walls.

Dr. Diez on honeycomb

Buddhist and Timurid

The Buddhists had put rows of niches, with figures, on walls as surface decoration, as early as the sixth century, at Lungmen for example, not only in caves but on external walls as well; and this was taken over first by the Timurid architecture, in the domed halls at Chargird for instance; and at Kara Sarai near Mosul it appears in stucco decoration, the niches still occupied with half-figures. So where once the Caliph ruled and, at the time under consideration, the Sultan, the rich wall-decoration of Central-Asiatic Buddhist temples and Chinese caves and grottoes was copied before the eyes of all Islam from East to West. In Buddhist art the creative forces were religious symbolism and the decorative impulse to relieve the plain surface by a continuing ornamentation; but in pre-Islamic Persia these forms were not found, nor known to Hellenistic and Sassanian architects. In Central Asia it had come from religious but also aesthetic urging, perhaps the unbridled longing for decoration of the Asiatic steppe peoples and their sense of distress in the face of

Symbolic and temperamental

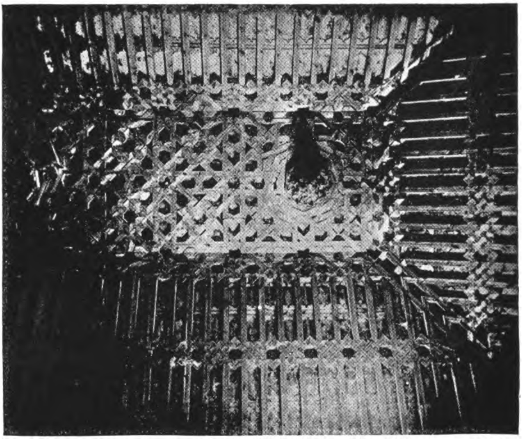
empty surfaces. On the other hand, the Persians as heritors of Babylon had known how to prize an empty surface and used sparse, rhythmic, culminant form. Where the European Gothic artist, or the Buddhist, could express the religious idea in human aspect, the Moslem had only the empty niche or honeycomb; and this form through the earlier ancestral Buddhist devotion of bygone Islamized peoples of Central Asia had a religious content certainly not lost utterly nor unlearned, haunting the contemplative consciousness like a forgotten memory. The coming of the Turks to Bagdad had brought this Asian heritage.

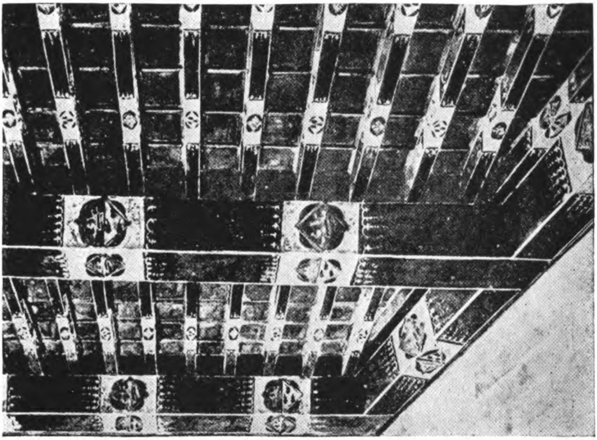
The coming of the Turks

The trefoiled arch was brought by Turkish people, Buddhist once, from eastward; in Kashmir it is found first at about the year 1000. The cusped arch was latent in the trefoiled arch; and the cusped arch played its part in building up the honeycomb. The south hall of the palace at Raqqa[6] carries its curving vault by a gradual building up of niches—an arcading of cusped niches on the walls at the angle and then stalactite niches built up in rows, over each other, drawn together and inward, till the honeycomb pendentive had culminated. The Old Friday Mosque of Ispahan[7] (a dated monument, 1072–92) shows the combining and piling up of niches to span a square corner until a dome may find support; the silhouette of the trefoiled niche, visible everywhere by the twelfth and the thirteenth century, exists in the Indo-Buddhist tradition brought by Seljuks and Mongols; and the domed hall in Chargird looks back to the Thousand Buddhas of inner Asia.

Along the Eastern Road

Spanish travellers, Moslem and Jewish, knew inner Asia at any rate by hearsay, and Irak and Iran by roads and rivers, by inland seas and mountain passes, and had voyaged on ships to India. The Western Caliphate had fallen, the Eastern Caliphate was altered, but Moors and Mudéjars of Malaga and Granada and Aragon kept still in contact with Edessa and Aleppo, Mosul and Bagdad. From Mesopotamia to Cordova, thence to Saragossa, the road

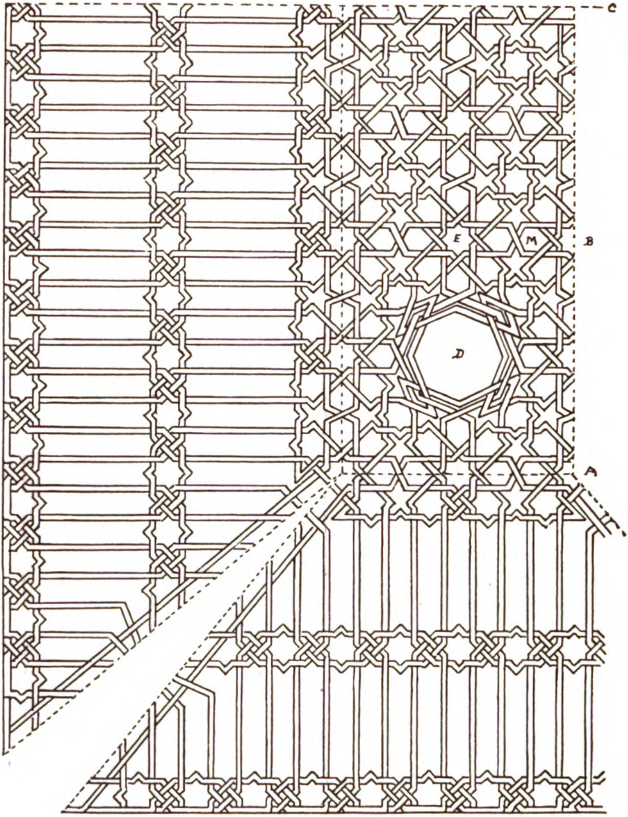




Ceilings

1. S. Juan de la Penitencia
2. S. Coloma de Queralt

LX



Artesonado, S. Juan de la Penitencia

was open all the way, and the art of *mocarabes* flourished like exotic plants that can stand the climate but are never naturalized.

§ 5

For plaster work, *yeseria,* we have not even a name in English. Within the art may be distinguished, roughly, two kinds, according as it is moulded or cut—all early Spanish work belongs to the second, as I think, and with it the Mauretanian. M. Saladin[1] calls the ornamentation of carved plaster *noukch-hadidas,* and derives it from stuffs hung up like tapestries upon great days, saying also that the earliest instance occurs at Sedrata in Algeria, founded in the tenth century and destroyed in 1077. It is not, he says, strictly of plaster; on the brick or stamped clay walls were spread layers of *teffiza,* a sort of tufa, to be cut and carved by steel tools while still soft. He seems to apply the term, generically, to all the *yeseria* in Northern Africa. The Cairene examples are difficult to date and are not wholly

Plaster

relevant; one is found at El-Azar under the little dome and in the crossing spandrels of the porch which is certainly not of the tenth century; and another that fills a recess like a blind window in the mosque of El Moyed, though it shows the open design that characterizes Spanish *yeseria* of the fifteenth century, yet makes up that design from a curving fennel leaf which ranges through Spanish examples from those in the Aljaferia at Saragossa straight on down to those in the Taller del Moro at Toledo.

Cairene instances

c. 1075

c. 1369–90

Like most of the handicraft considered in this little book, the plaster work must be traced back into Mesopotamia. Gypsum was common there and the Assyrians had employed it for their carvings both in low and in high relief, and they also, according to M. Saladin,[2] covered the walls with a coat of plaster either moulded or somehow decorated, at Nineveh and Babylon. When the palaces at Samarra[3] were built in the ninth century, the moulded plaster was disposed in patterns of a special sort, with thickened, bulging, sudden

Coptic

curves, a swollen intermittent relief. At Deir-es-Suriani,[4] in Egypt, the forms recur, as is well known, in conjunction with a pitted surface that stood for undercutting and pierced work. From the Tigris to Babylon of Egypt and thence by sea, or along the African shore, or else by caravan from the Persian Gulf to the Pillars of Hercules, there was no break in the constant exchange of commodities and interchange of travellers. But the technique altered, as has been already indicated, and the forms refined themselves correspondingly, and Byzantine influence reasserted itself in the North of Africa and the South of Spain. The art of Cordova, with that of the palace at Saragossa and the flowering at Granada later on, falls either under the Caliphate or in the age of the *taifa* kings, and lies not properly within the range of our interest, except as Cordova was source and head of Moslem art in the West and we may know it still from what is left of the Great Mosque, and the ruins and remnants of the palace of Medina Azzahra.

and Cordovan

In the ninth and tenth century, the craft was exercised at Kairouan, Sedrata, and elsewhere in Northern Africa, and at Medina Elvira, as fragments in Granada museum attest. Remains from the eleventh and twelfth survive in a good many places. Down to the beginning of the fourteenth century it was all cut; thereafter moulds, probably of wood, came into use. In the Alhambra the spandrels of the arches are carved still. The plaster is of a very special sort, made from alabaster and finely sifted.[5]

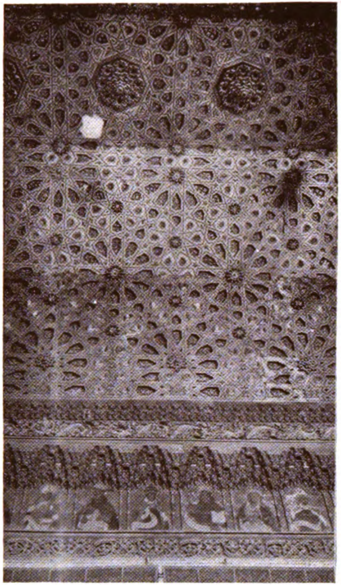
Granada

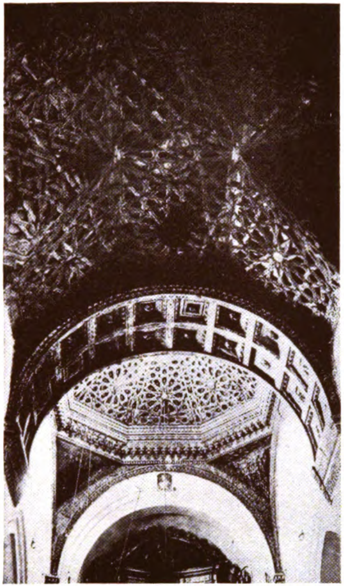
This sort of ornament is found everywhere, employed as a rule in secular building—a portal from the castle of Burgos still stands in the museum there, and a *patio* of the palace of Alfonso XI is the nuns' cloister at Tordesillas; but it will be most profitable, perhaps, after a brief preliminary, to select and consider in a single place, like Toledo, the sources and the changes in method and design.

Plate LXXVIII

Plate LXXV

Of the ancient palace of the Almohad Kings of Seville, a few walls and chambers have been rediscovered—*Palacio de Yeseria*[6]

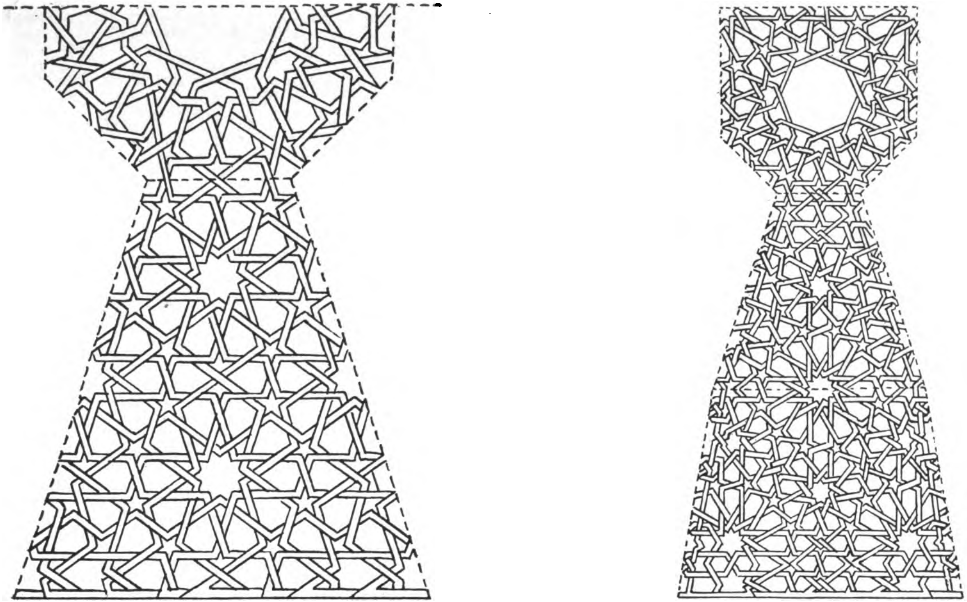




Artesonados

1. Tordesillas

2. Madrigal



Artesonado, Sections

1. Cuenca de Campos

2. Tordesillas

it is named. There, along the *patio*, still are standing cusped arches, the central one highest, and above the side arches a pierced screen work of engrailment that makes silhouettes and shadow-patterns and provokes the wandering airs to blow. What part of the present Alcázar was built by the King D. Pedro and what by the Emperor[7] Charles V is not always easy to say but at times the forms are Renaissance unquestionably and at times unmistakably Gothic and at yet other times they are restorer's work of the nineteenth century, but everywhere the arches are cusped sharply with a square edge, while cloister screen and chamber wall and pierced window tracery are covered with endlessly-repeating patterns or with scrolls involved and disinvolute of fennel leaf and vine leaf, pine cone and pomegranate. The famous arcading found in the Moslem building at Rabbath-Ammon in Syria is probably imitated and certainly matched by the delicate arcade high up under the ceiling of the two synagogues at Toledo, whence it passed into secular building of the entire

Palacio de Yeseriá

Plates LXV, LXXVI

region. At Tordesillas the forms are mostly Toledan; at Las Huelgas, within the *clausura*, the chapel of S. James recalls Cordova in the alternation of patterned and plain dowels in the antechapel arch, but in other respects is closer to S. Maria la Blanca. Except for the employment of late Gothic flamboyant forms at Segovia under Enrique IV, and free Gothic leafage under S. Ferdinand at Las Huelgas, and the Italianate forms of the Duero palaces from Cogulludo to Peñaranda, we may find models or parallels for everything in and about Toledo.

Plate LXXIV

Toledan style

Nothing else could so declare the riches and loveliness of Toledo as the splendour of the decoration[8] which yet survives. There alone in Spain is it possible to watch the style developing century after century.

Fennel leaf

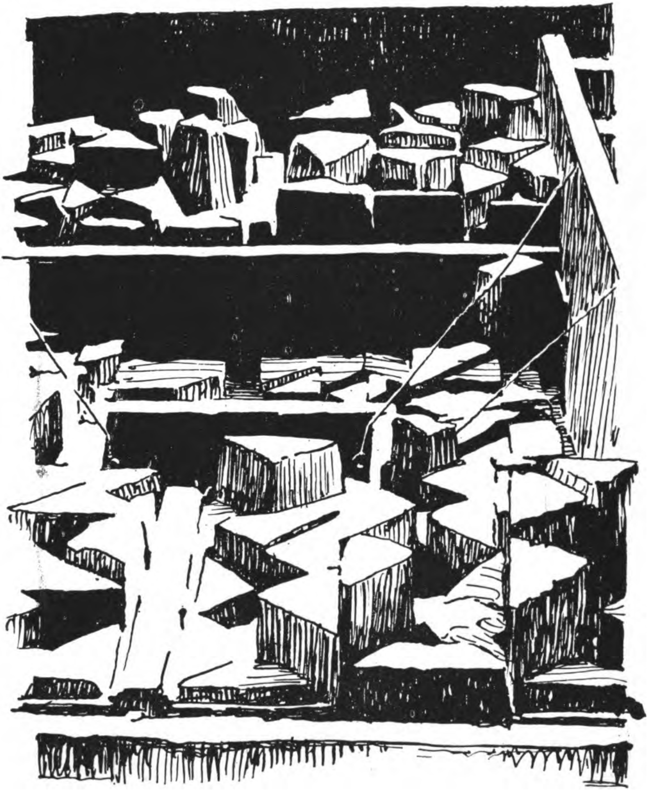
A sort of fennel leaf is the recurrent element of all this decoration, what might be called the small change of it: and associated with that a five-pointed vine leaf, and a formal tree of life made out of two pairs or three of the fennel leaf, tight-curled; even the bosses of the capitals at S. Maria la Blanca prove on examination to be rolled-up fennel leaves. The framing patterns within which these motives are engaged, are formal or symmetrical scrolls, two or three to a panel, or engrailment, often interlaced in double or treble repetition, or shallow simulated arcades that rest on colonnettes and are cusped with a vertical ascension or a jutting right angle leading on to another segmental curve, and all these again may be interlaced so that the eye has a choice of patterns to lead it across and up the panel in successive transformations. *Laceria* is used with the polygons filled up by fennel leaf; and also long bands of free design composed with or without Cufic lettering in a sort of cartouche. Finally, more than a few instances have survived of a free ivy-scroll, not unlike the forms of western miniature, in which were once figures of seated persons, or animals, or long-necked, long-tailed peacocks, these things forming a class quite apart but falling into a single place in the chronological sequence.

Mudéjar arches

The original of the fennel leaf[a] is the

Atauriques

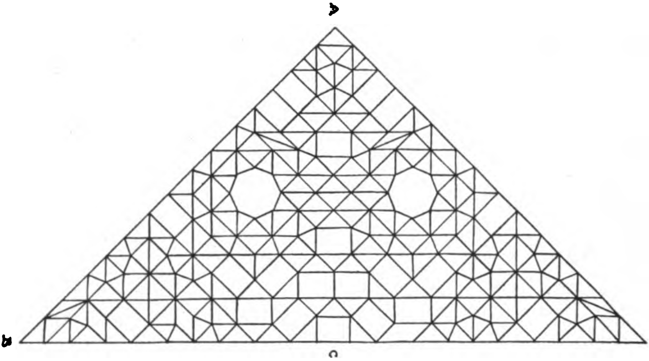
acanthus-palmette, as it may be seen, excessively stylized, at Cordova in the archstones of a very old door. A.D. 855 *Atauriques*, or hearts of plants, or acanthus-palmettes—they may be called any of these—with their corresponding half-palmettes fill up Plate LXVII the stone in a symmetrical pattern, cut with a sharp chamfer in the technique of wood and metal. This is the technique which Strzygowski saw in Cairo and Kairouan, and traced back to northern woodsmen and smiths among the Altai. By the eleventh century the half-palmettes were beginning to lengthen out and curl, with a multiplication of leaflets that suggested calling them after leaves of fennel, and a gradual elongation and curving that bring the leaf around a full circle. The beginning of the process may be observed Plate LXVII in the Zamora coffer and the completion, if not attained in an arch-spandrel and framing at Malaga, Plate LXVIII then perhaps in the patterns on the wooden door of Las Huelgas.[10] Plate LXXIII The important thing is the geometric development of the leafage in spirals—sometimes sprouting one out of

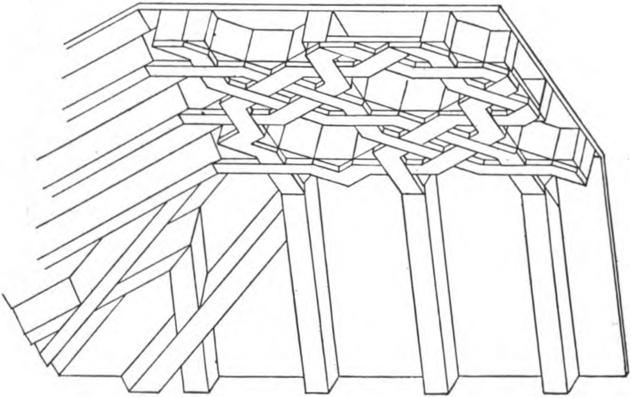


After Byne

Wrong Side of Honeycomb Ceiling

LXIV





1. Plane Plan of Honeycomb
2. Perspective Plan of Artesonado in Laceria

the other by successive bifurcations that turn alternately in opposite directions, sometimes intersecting, until the whole surface is covered in a perfect order, every stem bearing rosettes, rings, or buttons, and ending ultimately in a pine cone, leaf-bud, or something of the sort—the balance between mass and background, as Señor Gómez-Moreno says, being regulated with rare discretion. By this time the Aljaferia was building and the style was in full bud. In the eleventh century, then, the *atauriques* may be seen in process of development on some marble slabs preserved in the museums of Toledo and Madrid, on the wooden door at Las Huelgas where this pattern fills up the polygons of a *laceria* frame work, and in the plaster work of the Aljaferia at Saragossa. In private houses of Toledo survive fragments from the twelfth century, and within that century, or at the very opening of the thirteenth, the synagogue of S. Maria la Blanca and the chapel of Santiago at Las Huelgas use the plant forms in conjunction with *laceria* in plaster, with pierced roundels, and with

All-over patterns

Plate LXIX

moulded shells and polygons. Throughout the thirteenth century in Toledo the work goes on in this shape, as for instance in the curious tomb of D. Fernan Gudiel in Toledo cathedral and in a frieze of the archbishop's palace, with *laceria* in plaster or wood, rather fine and small, and interlace of fennel leaves filling the resultant polygons. D. 1278

In the early fourteenth, something has happened. The fennel leaves that were already freed from the palmette convention have escaped from the polygons of *laceria* and coil and interlace freely, as in the decoration of a tomb in the convent of the Conception, or else they make a continuous pattern upon the interior plane of the background, underneath a design of engrailment or of a shallow cusped arcading or of a large free scroll. In any case this upper pattern frames large decorative motives—pine cone, vine leaf, or tree of life, as already said. The best examples are in the Taller del Moro, the Casa de Mesa, and the synagogue called El Transito. Everywhere in this epoch the two patterns in the two Plates LXX, LXXII planes run concurrently, and in the great panel over the sanctuary windows of El Transito it is possible to distinguish not only three separate interlacing patterns, all worked in their own relief, but also three separable planes within which they move freely. In that synagogue also may be found the oblong cartouche of very free ornament, such as exists in the Mosque of Sultan Hassan at Cairo and was employed at this time in the convent palace of Tordesillas, as in the fifteenth century in the castles of Castile, like Medina del Pomar and Burgos.

Plate LXXI

Plate LXXV

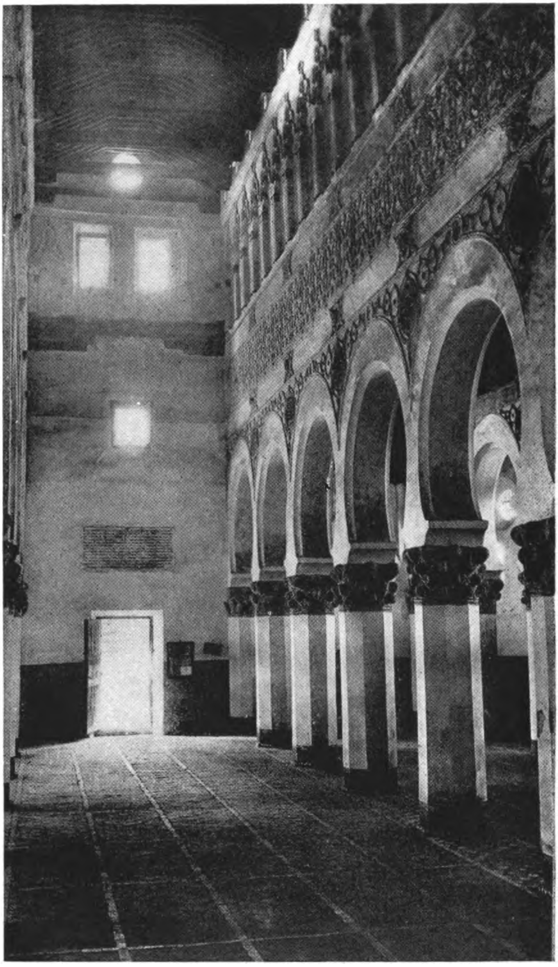
Plate LXXX

Fifteenth-century work at Toledo is distinguished by a lightening and opening of the pattern, selecting smaller and especially slimmer elements, like the details about the window and archway of the Conde de Esteban's house. The penetration of Gothic is manifest by now, in the substitution of Gothic lettering on the cornice of a tomb at S. Andrés where the altar tomb itself is adorned with figures seated in alternate entrelacs. So in the framing of a door in a house on the Cuesta S. Justo;

there Gothic lettering and people among leafage are repeated to great advantage. The spandrel and angels in a chapel of S. Justo are well enough known.

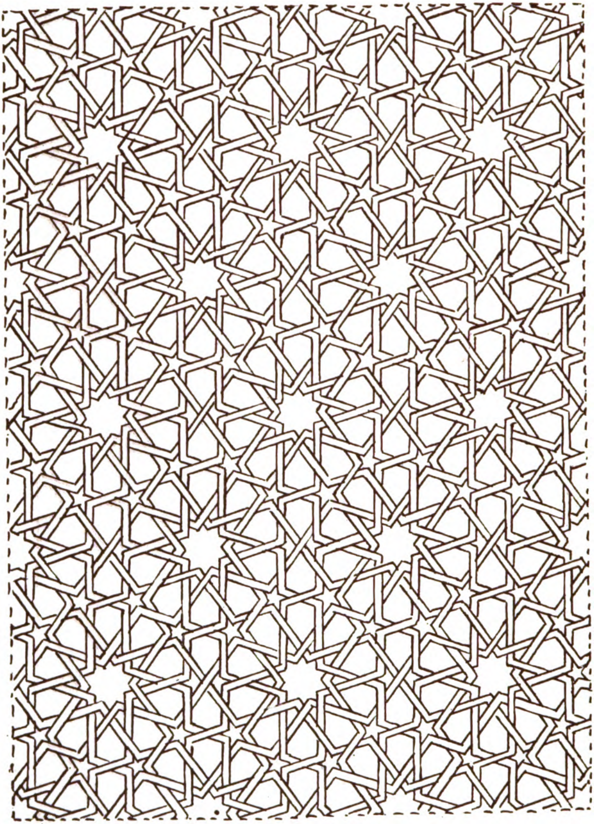
Change in temper

But it was more than that: the temper of the design was altered. Just so it was again when the Renaissance had arrived. The greatest sixteenth-century example is the doorway of the chapter room in the cathedral. Engrailments and pierced discs have come back, with arcades on colonnettes, and pierced work of various kinds, sometimes pitting the surface of a motive, rather as it was done in the Deir-es-Suriani more than half a millennium before, or again pricking through the leafage of a palmette as window-designs are pierced in Cairo, and always the various motives of rosette and shell, pine cone and boss, are composed plastically, a little tridimensionally, and not as hitherto rather flatly in successive planes. There is yet another difference: here, as in the additions of Charles V in Seville Alcázar, where the Renaissance intention asserts itself the movement of the design is



S. Maria la Blanca

LXVI



Laceria, Knot of 10
Cf. Cuenca de Campos

arrested. Through the Moorish and the Gothic ages Mudéjar design was still restless, elusive, fleeting. Now it stands stockstill; for all its wealth and loveliness, it is stabilized.

In and about Segovia the ornament of the *arabâ* enframing doors and windows was designed of plaster in flamboyant forms. The design is always composed, not continuous, and set within a geometric shape, like a pair of spandrels or a succession of panels, and when the debased arch is turned over a door-head the panels take an approximately trapezoidal form. Why the trapezium should play such a part in Mudéjar is hard to say precisely; probably, like the irregular hexagon, the errancy yet completion of the form has a special wayward, elusive allurement. At the castle of Escalona, on the Tagus, the flamboyant Gothic is set in the Toledan cartouche and under the intrados of arches.

Arabâ
Plate LXXXI

Plate LXXXII

Plates LXXIX, LXXX

There is also a special sort of late-Gothic leafage, used to fill up a hollow moulding, and deeply undercut, which appears in conjunction with Mudéjar forms, as in the work of Gil de Siloe; that however lies perhaps outside of the field of this study. Stone and plaster were used in conjunction for tombs, with flamboyant tracery and roundels of stone but plaster flutes for cusping and plaster pierced work for filling —they may yet be seen at Cuellar in S. Andrés. In Olmedo an amazing altar-sarcophagus is set under a horseshoe arch, and the designs are hard to parallel in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. Variety is the law in this epoch, and the tympanum over an altar in the chapter room at Sijena is equally unexpected and equally splendid. In the palace at Cogulludo the motives set over doors or chimneys are composed like others in the Duero region, of armouries combined with pierced roundels, the sort of leafage already mentioned, and other characteristic diaper or filling forms. Finally at Peñaranda on the Duero, *laceria* occurs in the same room with Genoese marble-workers' patterns of candelabra, acanthus-themes, and griffins with urns and tripods. In short, as with the *artesonados*, so with the *yeseria*, Renaissance

Gil de Siloe made Mudéjar tombs at Miraflores

Genoese marble workers

superseded Mudéjar at last, and the craft lived on even after the expulsion of the Moriscoes.

Esgrafiado

There is another decoration which has persisted in use even to this day—easy, inexpensive, and very pleasant to the eye. It is called *esgrafiado* and consists in coating the plastered outside of a house with colour wash in two tones successively, then scratching off the upper in a pattern to let the other show through in some simple design of diaper or interlace. Segovia is famous for this method, and delightful. The favourite colouring is in two tones of ochre—ivory and amber, or orange with pale-brown. As the Lakhmid kings had replaced alabaster by moulded stucco, so the citizen of Segovia replaces an art by simple craftsmanship within any man's reach. With the play of sun and shadow across the interlacing pattern, and the movement as one passing down the street follows the recurrent rhythm of the design, the old elusive theme is taken up again, the errant mood recaptured, and the dream-like evanescence and recall.

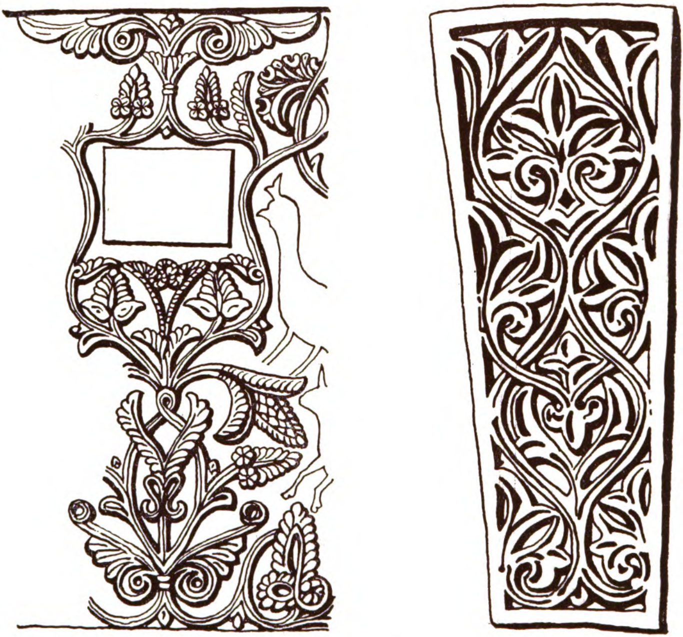
§ 6

Summing up

Now it is possible to sum up the characteristic traits of Mudéjar in structural forms or those of essential ornament as distinguished from extraneous—by which is meant the difference between moulded plaster which is of the substance of the wall and, on the other hand, fresco which is painted upon it, or *artesonados* which constitutes the ceiling and arcadings which stiffen the brick work as contrasted with the patterned plaster of Italian palace ceilings and the marble casing of Italian church walls.

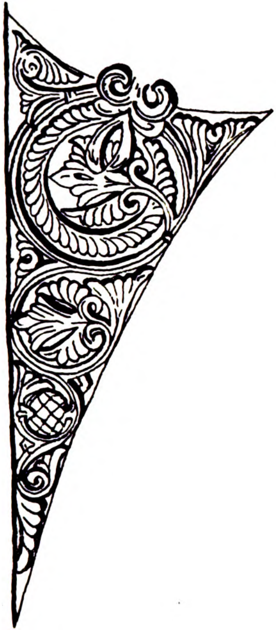
Domes are naturalized, they are carried on squinches, and in regions where the style is native they are ribbed on a geometric scheme of concentric squares overlapping at 45°. Squinches are general in use, various in kind: the trompe, the niche-head, the concentric arches, the true Persian squinch (as at La Mejorada) and the ribbed angle-vault that developed from it; a beautiful late example is found in the Inner Sacristy of Avila cathedral. Interlaced ribs, under a dome or a cloistered

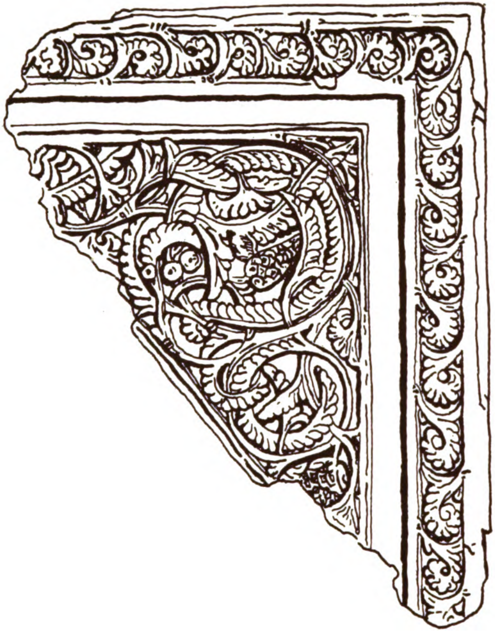
Plate XXX



Plant Forms

1. Zamora box, detail 2. Cordova, arch-stone





Plaster Work, Fennel Leaf

1. Toledo

2. Malaga

vault, cross and descend, escaping the centre; in Gothic vaulting they form especial patterns in a symmetrical reticulation at the crown of the vault, for instance in the Chapel of Mosén Rubin, and again in multiplied divergent lines at the springing that recall English fan-vaulting, for instance at Barbastro. Eaves-brackets, already used in the Mozarabic time, are further enlarged and enriched, for interior and exterior, in wood and stone to carry the frieze and ceiling, or the eaves and roof, or the upper stages of towers and battlements, respectively. Avila Plate XLIX

Arcading is perhaps essential to brick building: in Spain the interlaced arcade is rarer than one would expect in structural forms, but it does occur; about the base of towers at Coca, along the nave wall on the parish church at Narros del Castillo near Arévalo, on the church tower of Ateca near Saragossa. Sunken rectangular panels are substituted for arches at Cuellar and Sahagun and perhaps elsewhere, as they are in the East;[1] but the usual substitute for the "Saracenic" interlaced arches of Sicily and Campania is the form called engrailment, where the crossing arch-heads turn into a lozenge pattern. Even in patterned plaster work the design often rises from shallow arches at the base of the panel. In the Toledan region a row of cusped arches is used precisely as at Rabbath-Ammon—as under the eaves of the Christ of the Light and under the cornice in the synagogues of S. Maria la Blanca and El Transito. They are found also at Medina del Pomar north of Burgos.

Engrail-ment

Plate LXXX

Cusping

Cusping is equally common in stone, in brick work, and in plaster. Mudéjar influence is reckoned as determining the cusped arches in S. Isidoro of León, S. Pablo of Tarragona, Santiago, and Toledo cathedral, and these are all very famous cases. The converse of this, a square-edged curving pattern made on the edge of arches by curl and rolls and hollows, has been noted already especially in the Duero region, nor is it, I think, confined to stone work. In plaster the *patio* arches at Tordesillas and Astudillo and the Alcázar of Seville are usually square-edged also, but intricate lace work, thin pierced and moulded, occurs, for instance, on the tombs at Cuellar. Cusping may be radial and usually is, but it may also be stilted, each arch-member rising on a vertical stalk, or it may be varied by the introduction of one or two right angles amid the sequence of curves. There is a carved Turkish slab from Diarbekr, now in Constantinople, where semicircles alternate with triangular clefts in the design, in which one source of the device may be found. The angular is, I think, like the stilted sort, proper to Spain. The conopial traceries with all their ogee interlacings in stone and iron work are also entirely Spanish.

Mudéjar arches

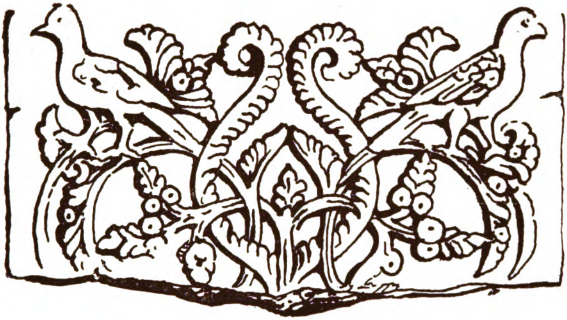
Applied bands of ornament, especially of plaster, decorate the head and spandrels of a doorway or frame the upper part of a window in the form called *arabâ*—these may take the form of flamboyant Gothic tracery, as at Segovia and Escalona; or they may constitute a frieze of long oval cartouches, connected by interlacing bands, and filled usually with a rather free pattern of plant forms. Cufic lettering is not uncommon, and is very elegant, with tall slender lines sometimes knotted in the middle.

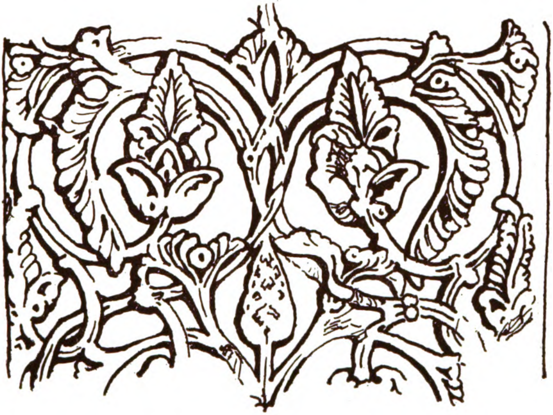
Laceria is used for ceilings, doors, and other wooden members, and nearly all timber roofing shows Mudéjar traits, whether beamed, coved, or *artesonado*, painted, gilded, or merely oiled. Of *mocarabes* or honeycomb work whole ceilings are built up, *artesonado*, vaulted, or domed, with pendentives or groins; cornices and capitals also; and on the outside of towers, gates, and castles a rather simple form, a three-lobed cusping of stone carried on small corbels and repeated at least once, is used to great advantage, as at Manzanares. In S. Ferdinand's cloister at Las Huelgas the cloistered vaulting in some of the corners is filled with a rather naturalistic leafage that takes the place of honeycomb in decorative effect but is more likely[2] derived from the Gothic leaf work at León.

Three-lobed cusping for cornices

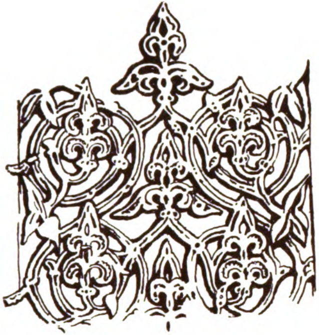
Plate LXXVII

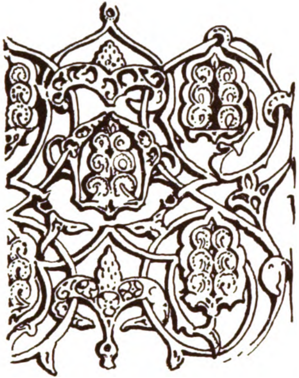
Mudéjar designs, said Lampérez, consist of two sorts only, the one geometric, the other of highly stylized fauna and flora. The animals are negligible. The acanthus

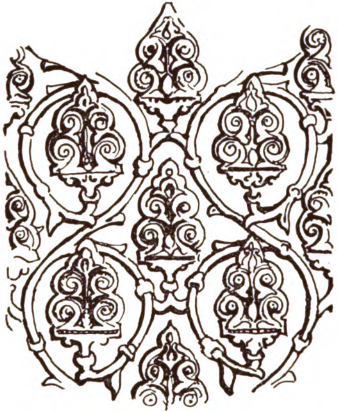




Fennel Leaf, from Museum, Toledo







Plaster Work, Tree of Life

1. S. Juan de la Penitencia

2. Casa de Mesa

3. El Transito

Design in three planes

palmette developed through a series of forms called *atauriques*, hearts of plants, that grew into fennel leaves long and curling or short and coupled, in intricate convolutions and interlaces, and finally into a type of design where the background was filled like a diaper with an undercurrent of the little leaves. This lasted at least into the sixteenth century.

These are, perhaps, the principal traits by which Mudéjar work may be identified. The regions in which it most flourished have been already indicated, and the regional styles will be defined very shortly. Before that, however, certain forms of purely secular building should have attention for a moment.

IV

§ 1

Secular Building

William of Tyre is reported to have said, on some occasion, that the Armenians taught the Crusaders to build their castles in Palestine. If by Crusaders he meant English, Germans, and the immediate followers of the King of France, lords of Normandy, Champagne, and the North Sea shore, he was probably correct. Up to that time they had built after the ancient British manner, with a moat, a mound, and a keep, all three concentric. In Palestine they built like the Saracens about them, following the long line of the mountain crest and setting the main stronghold at the prow or against the poop of the mighty fortress that stretched its length among the rocks and dry watercourses. Tiryns had been built in somewhat the same way.

Castles in Spain

In Provence and Languedoc, however, and throughout the Marca Hispanica, and indeed in all the Spains, generally speaking,

Roman fortresses in Africa

the lords had already another way of building from that of the north, taken over from Byzantium and transmitted, in part at least, along the shore of Africa. It was derived from the Roman, and Lemsa in Algeria affords a perfect example. The 1. Roman camp, the fortified posts of Justin- 2. ian, the desert palaces of Irak and Arabia 3. Petrea—this sequence leads up to the Alcázars of Seville and Toledo, the castles of Medina del Campo and Medina del Pomar, Coca, and Turégano. The other, the Crusaders' tradition, however, of the Saracens in the Holy Land may be traced also in Spain from a very early date on down, at Almodóvar del Rio and Segovia and Peñafiel, so that one need only lay side by side, for a moment, a photograph of Cañete or Alcalá de Guadeira and a fine old drawing of Krak of the Knights, to recognize the identity.

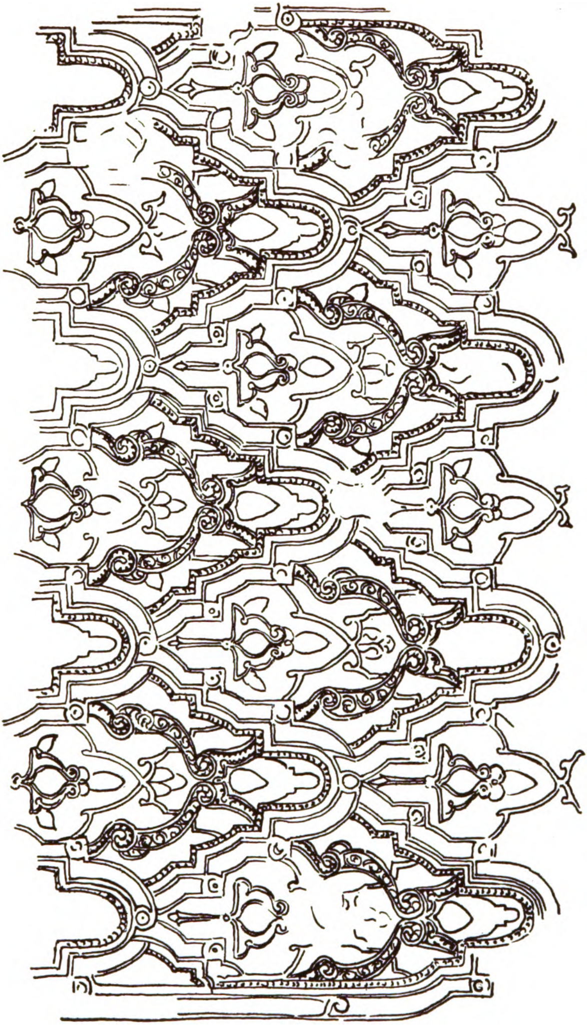
In the matter of castles in Spain the present writer is not guiltless of divagations, which may be found elsewhere. Here it must suffice to say that things happened as related above. Before speaking of the Mudéjar castles and palaces, a note is needed about city walls.

Walled Towns

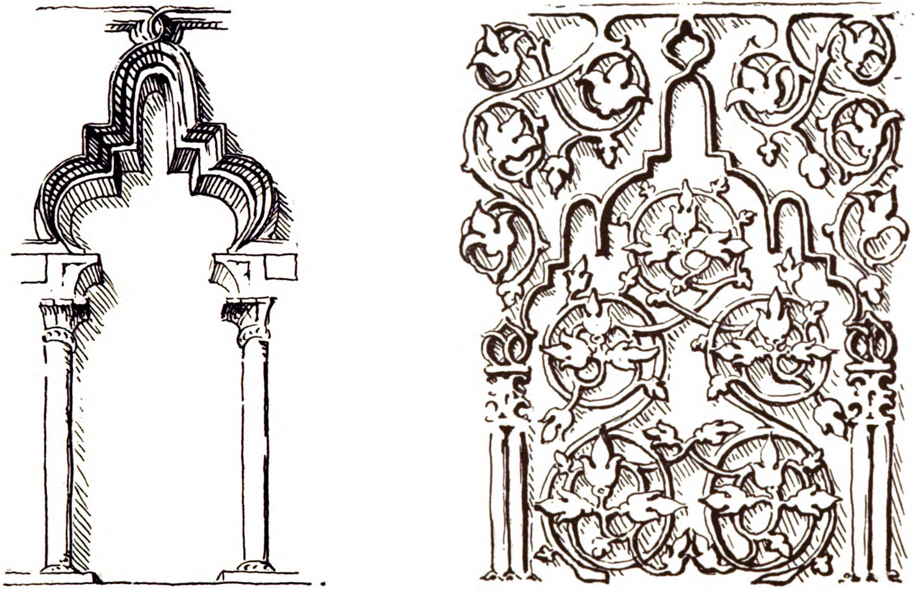
Whoever has read Procopius' *Six Books on the Buildings of the Lord Justinian* will remember the fortification of Edessa and Dara, and has perhaps already recalled it, in travelling, at the sight of Carcassonne or Avignon. The triple enclosure, the "battering" of the walls, the *chemin-de-ronde* corbelled out along the inner face of the curtain wall and carried straight through the towers, the alternation of lesser and larger towers along the walls and the towers at the corners, the massy battlements: these traits passed early into Spain. How in Mudéjar building they were modified appears most plainly in the castles strictly so-called, especially the cornice carried on corbelling and so also the lesser towers and turrets; the free use of polygonal towers; and at the last, a patterning or decoration of the wall itself which is very ancient and Asiatic.

Plate LXXXIII

The red walls of Daroca are famous as Mudéjar building, though portions probably are Moorish: towers and gates were



El Transito, Design of Plaster Work



Mudéjar Arches

1. Arcading, S. Maria la Blanca

2. Arcading in Plaster Work, Casa de Mesa

built in 1412–52. The towers are often rectangular and often terminate toward the exterior in half a hexagon; I do not recall that any of them are round. A tower at Almazán is almost circular, tangential to the angle. At Teruel, again, they jut out in a segmental curve, or a stilted semicircle, as at Maqueda; at Cuellar rectangular and circular interchange without the reasons being apparent. From these towers the battlements have crumbled away for the most part. Madrigal de las Altas Torres can show few towers now, and of the circular walls I think no parts survive except to flank the gates, or where a low house was built against or into them, and now repays the one-time protection by preserving a remnant and a memory.

Plate LXXXIV

The City Gate

The gate-towers of Madrigal are of the sort called open-throated, like the Puerta de Serranos[1] at Valencia, and the gates of Cagliari and Avignon. That is to say, the inner wall is absent. The idea was that citizens may be more dangerous than outsiders to the gate-wards, and military may be a menace to the city, so they keep the space open behind each other's backs as a security for good faith. The Valencian gate gives the type at its best, and though it is not often classed as Mudéjar work it is derived from the East by the same channels, whereas Lugo and Avila mark another line of descent. Pedro Balaguer built it in 1395.

Eastern

not Roman

A pair of towers project far out in order to make the passage hard to force; at Valencia they are polygonal, which is in the Mohammedan tradition; the upper part is corbelled out on stepped brackets, and the battlements are carried on similar but smaller ones, with wide machicolations; the flat wall between these towers is vertical, and behind it the portcullis moves, but the outer face is adorned with interlacing arches and engrailment. Pure Mudéjar exists at Toledo in the Puerta del Sol and the Puerta Visagra, and at Ciudad Real in the Toledo Gate there. In these instances an outer arch and wall on columns rises above the gate-arch proper, concealing and supporting the *peine* or portcullis. At Granada, Niebla,

Plate LXXXV

and in one of the gates at Badajoz the entrance turns at a right angle inside the tower; this is entirely oriental. The Puerta S. Esteban at Burgos is peculiar in that the towers project backward toward the town, as though the chief danger lay there; and at Burgos as at Daroca a sort of corbelled arcading is carried across the face of the front. This grows into a beautiful ornament at Jadraque, in the Medinacoeli country, by passing around the gate towers which have dwindled into corbelled turrets. The gate at Almazán, very simple, is very fine in proportions, but differs from most in lacking a cornice. It is the pyramidal-crested battlement carried on corbels that gives its special beauty to all this Spanish fortification, unlike as possible to the wooden *hourdes* of French and English military engineers.

Plate LIV

§ 2

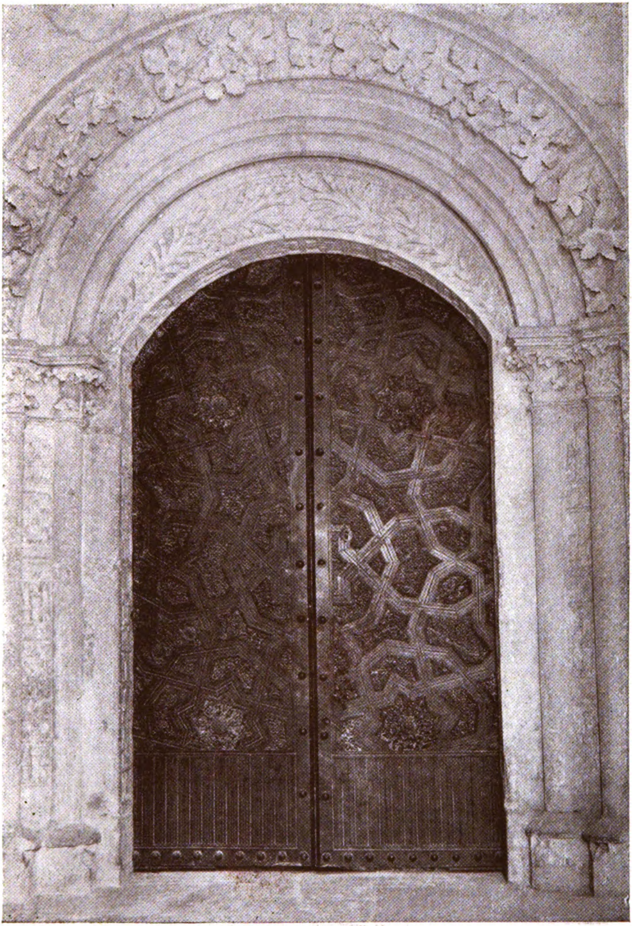
Palaces

Of the great outbreak of building in the fifteenth century the churches yet stand to testify, the universities and town halls; but the castles and palaces are mostly ruinous.

Where space in this little book is so nearly at an end it will be best to select a very few instances for analysis, and choose them from that category which is least known and most characteristic.

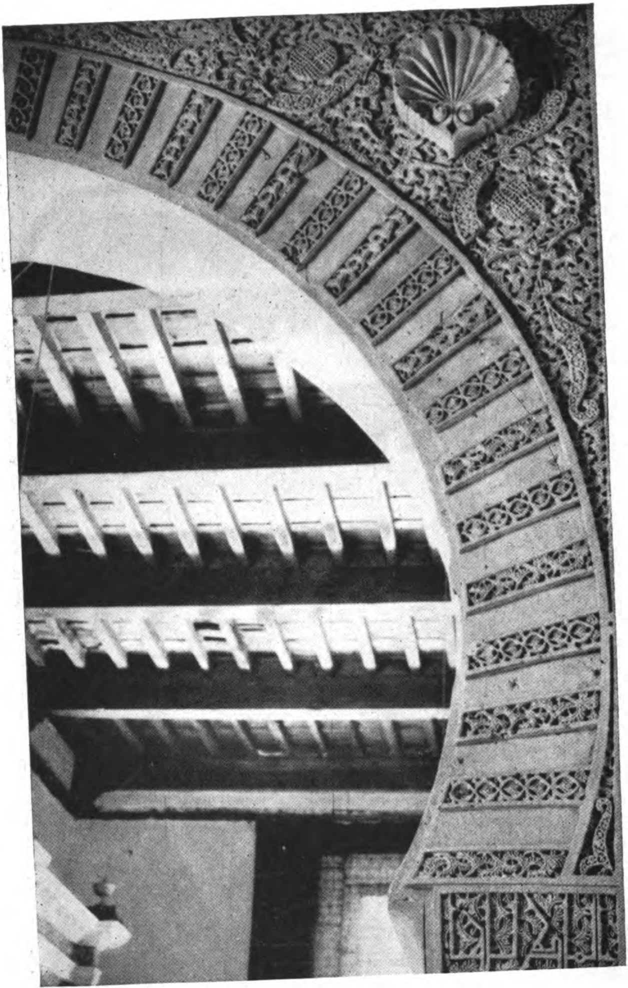
A secular art splendid and evocative

Mudéjar art was always at its best secular, by its own nature and the conditions of the craft, and always well-liked by great folk, as various, sumptuous, abstract, and evocative like music. There was a workman named Juan Guas who built a palace for the Dukes of the Infantado in Guadalajara and a castle for them at Manzanares the Royal—well-named—on the hillside above its quiet lake. With his work may be compared the town-house of the Medinacoeli at Cogolludo and the Fonseca castle at Coca. These are representative. The convent palaces of Tordesillas and Astudillo are inaccessible; the castles of Medina del Pomar and Medina del Campo are the one too ruined and the other too restored. Of the Alcázar at Seville it is very hard to speak in this connection, for it is completely Moorish, so planned, so decorated as to be more like



Las Huelgas, Door in Great Cloister

LXXIV



Las Huelgas, Door to Chapel of S. James

the Alhambra than any Christian building, with its innumerable courts and groups of apartments arranged after the ancient Mesopotamian plan of a central hall between a pair of shallow chambers, and then another, and then the same, *da capo*; enclosed with blind walls, like the palaces of Bagdad and Babylon. After all, for our purposes, Castile and Aragon are Spain and Andalusia is something else—one comes back to that.

Mesopotamian plan

There was an early palace at Sahagun,[1] just as there were palaces at Poblet and SS. Creus, for the Aragonese colonization of Alfonso el Batallador was curiously effectual; but we know little of it except the splendour. The thirteenth century Palace of Galiana, below Toledo in the meadow, has been studied by Sr. Gómez-Moreno,[2] and his plan in some ways recalls the primitive Mesopotamian palace with one great difference—that the great central chambers are of the broad-hall type, like the churches of the Tur Abdin; this is true also of the Cordovan palaces of the Caliphate.[3] Outside, the mass of building yet standing might seem to have the same pair of towers that was recognized as characteristic of Spanish palaces in the beginning of this little study. They look, here, as though the two great towers of Medina del Pomar had been pushed a little further apart, to allow space for the central halls, but Sr. Gómez-Moreno says that there was once a complete central mass without towers. That is the form taken by the Mendoza palaces toward the close of the fifteenth century, and it presents perhaps the Castilian type in its purity.

Cf. p. 46

Castle of Manzanares

The Real de Manzanares[4] lies up on the skirts of the Guadarramas, and there a castle stood beside a church on the hillside ever since, at latest, the fourteenth century, but it was rebuilt in the latter part of the fifteenth, by D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the son of the poet and the first Duke of the Infantado. There he died in 1479 and his son went on with building. The plan is very roughly that of a square with three circular towers or *cubos* at three angles and at the fourth the keep, larger, square below and octagonal above. A *patio* of two stories, comparable to that at Guadalajara, occupied the centre, and a lower set of walls still retraces the lines and curves of the whole at a lower level, further out. The third range of wall, with the moat, has disappeared. Inside the circuit, however, eastward of the main square, columns and arches yet standing show what was a great hall, nine-bayed, and beyond that the apse of the neighbouring church was included within the castle, serving as the chapel. No Spanish castle lacked a chapel, as no Roman camp wanted for its Sacellum. The gate and gate-tower are at the west but the entrance to the castle proper opens in the inner south wall; and high up on that same south wall, corbelled out on a honeycomb cornice, an open gallery with its *mirador* and jutting loggia looks over the lake to hills where once were forests, across lush meadows where the flocks and cattle grazed.

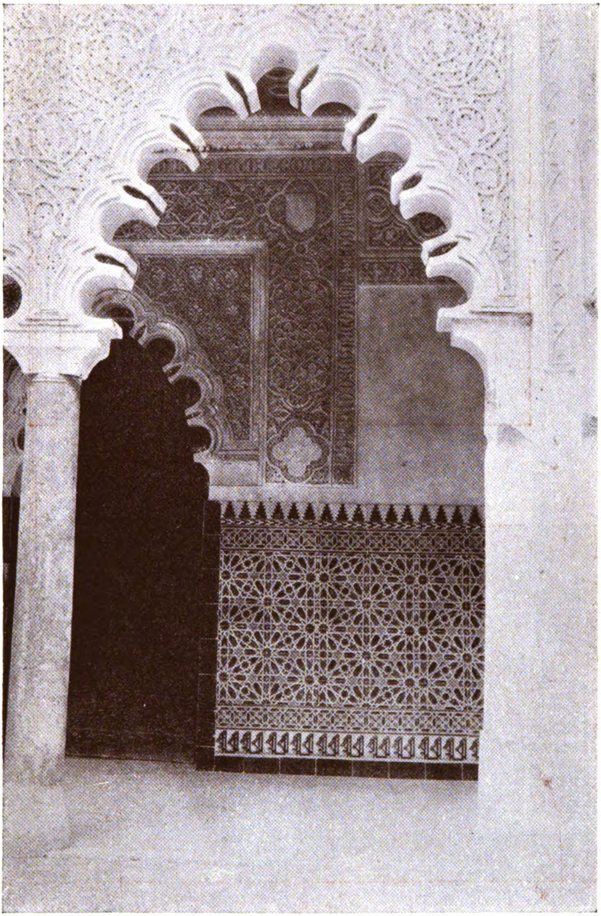
Plate LXXXVIII

Three trefoil arches

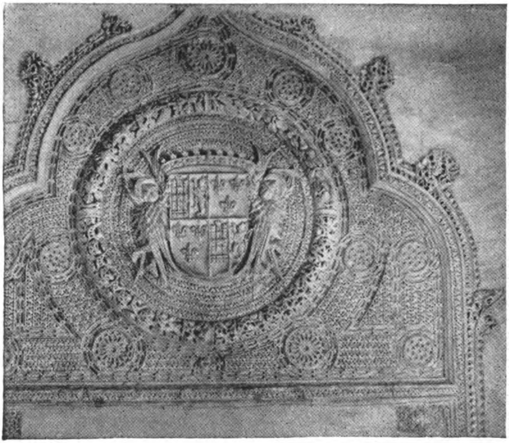
Pl. LXXXVII

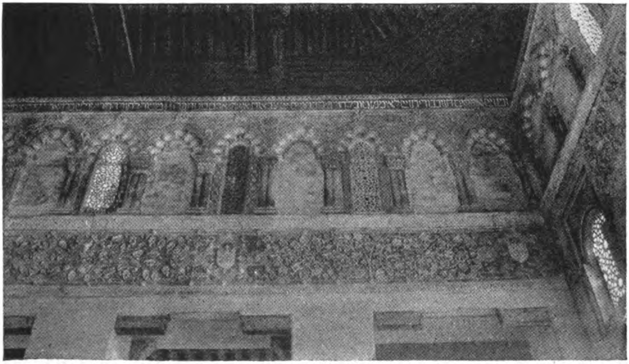
From each of the towers rises a smaller tower and a corbelled turret occupies the centre of each curtain wall, and besides the honeycomb cornice work there is a good deal of diamond-point in plaster, while in the upper towers stone balls are embedded: **All-over pattern** in short, the surface is covered with patterning everywhere possible. The form of the whole, with its saliences and retreats, its repetition of elements in modified forms, its shifting play of shadows and steady drumming of repeating pattern, is pleasant to the eye, and the late Gothic capitals collected from the *patio* suggest the delicate Isabellan richness that characterized the stone work inside.

The architect was probably that Juan Guas who with his brother Harry "and other many masters" worked on the palace in Guadalajara.[5] That was nearly complete by 1502. **Palace of the Infantado** The Palace of the Infantado is a town house, with central *patio* and courts and gardens behind; of *artesonados* and cornices therein something has been said already; and the enchantment of that honeycomb ceiling purchased probably from the monastery of Lupiana is its crowning glory. **Plate XC** The façade has a great portal and a lesser one, with windows of assorted sizes on the same floor, and then



Tordesillas, Nuns' Cloister





Plaster Work

1. Cogolludo, Palace 2. Toledo, El Transito

two stories of pedimental Renaissance windows; above all a superb open gallery or *adarve* where six jutting loggie break the lines of honeycomb cornice below and ogee arches above. The whole face of the stone is set with diamond-points, and parapets, pillars and colonnettes are worked with smaller patterns of the same sort or with spirals. The wall-space is not divided evenly—this and the play of patterning give a special felicity to the richness, perhaps. The Magnificent Man would be at ease herein. The traceries of the great cloister walk are like the massive ecclesiastical embroidery of vestments and altar-frontals, and through the piercing the sunlight falls in patterns on the flags; the lower chambers were decorated in Raphael's style of *grottesche* by Romulus Cincinnatus when the sixteenth century was on the wane, but the upper ones were of pure Mudéjar invention. A sixteenth-century traveller recorded how there were fountains in the lower chambers and channels carrying the water to the gardens and fish-pool, as indeed there are still at

Gallery looking abroad

Fountains in palace chambers

Granada where the water brims the basin and lisps in the cool shaded silence.

Great stair

The great stair, set at an angle of the *patio* with spacious turns and pauses and a domed or fretted ceiling over all, is a characteristic Spanish trait, that came from the turret staircase of the castle and was carried over into such Italianate building as La Calahorra and the Hospital of S. Cross at Toledo. At Alcalá in the archbishop's palace, just as here, it is a part of the Mudéjar whole.

Palace of Cogolludo

Plate LXXXIX

Medinacoeli was erected into a duchy in 1479, and the first duke, who was a Mendoza by his mother, died in 1501; the palace at Cogolludo was built about 1500. The Renaissance was more advanced and Italianate by this time, almost one might say more Florentine, though the proportions of the long, level façade are not so square as in Tuscany. A plateresque doorway is the only opening below; six windows are evenly distributed above, and a roundel carries the duke's blazon within a laurel garland; the cornice is Ionic, but the window-heads, the palmettes about the door, and the pierced and floriated parapet over all are Mudéjar Gothic work. It recalls Burgos, partly in the window ornament which is like the late florid Gothic attributed to Gil de Siloe, and partly in the palmettes that radiate from the tympanum arch of the door and are conceived like Simon de Colonia's on the Puerta de la Pellejería—indeed the eastern work at Burgos Cathedral was commanded by a Mendoza, Doña Mencia, Countess of Haro. The stones are rusticated making a pattern over the whole surface.

Gil de Siloe a Mudéjar probably

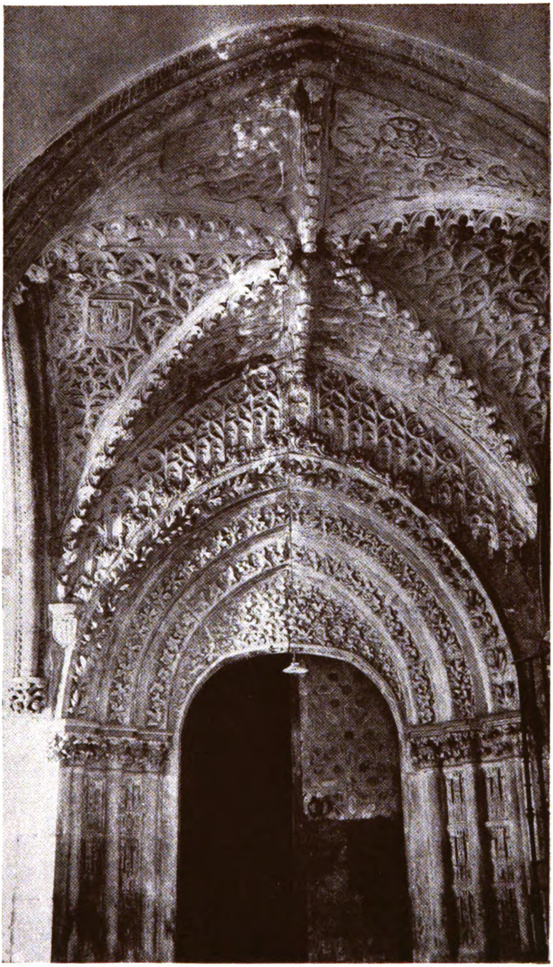
Plate LI

Inside, the *patio*, of which the lower story still stands, timber roofed, is classical looking, with slightly debased arches descending on a sort of Ionic capital; but in the ruins of another court, built up into what is now an exterior wall, there is a lintel, not an arch, and thereunder a characteristic *zapata* or shoe that shows affinity with the rolled ornament of eaves-bracketing. The courts had once galleries in two stories. Over the *patio* doors a sort of *arabâ*, a rectangular motive of moulded plaster, employs chiefly pierced

Zapata Plate LI

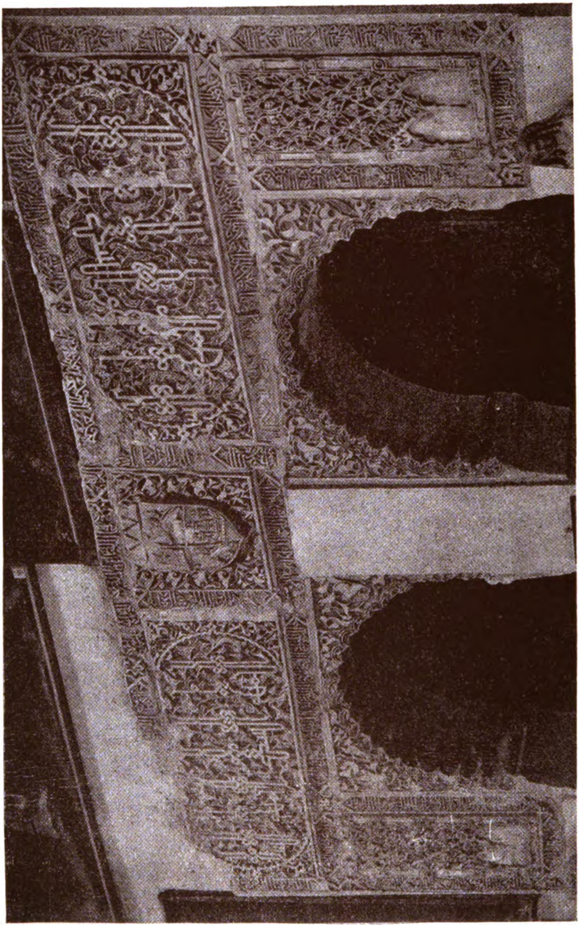
circles but a little leafage and a little plait in places; the finest of these was over the chimney once in an upper chamber. Unhappily the whole interior has been torn out and forlorn plaster partitions and ceilings have made serviceable for humble folk the once more abandoned palace, so that not even conjecture can restore the original disposition. Plate LXXVI

Mendoza All three of these Mendoza buildings have the same sort of heavy richness, with lumpy contours and blunted lines; this may point to the common architect as well as the family taste. If he was Juan Guas, his own portrait at Toledo is much of the same sort. Notwithstanding, his work still visible there, at S. John of the Kings, is a little different. Everything is out of scale—a monogram is taller than a man, a blazon, repeated thrice, can fill a transept wall. It makes one think of Seljuk work in Asia Minor. So does, indeed, the sort of ornament which is arranged up the door-jambs at the palace of S. Isabel in Toledo and that, imitated probably from it, on a palace portal at the monastery of



Las Huelgas: In the Cloister of S. Ferdinand

LXXVIII



Plaster Work from Burgos Castle

Guadalupe, whither doubtless it was carried by the mysterious master who signed himself Egas Cueman. He may have been the nameless brother of Annequin de Egas who worked so many years on Toledo cathedral. Coming back, however, to the palaces of the Mendozas, one sees how the fifteenth-century castle and city palace for which the Guas brothers are surely responsible, were more sumptuous, more Islamic and palpably more native than the latest, Cogolludo (which lies close to the frontiers of Aragon), so that the next stage after it in Italianizing would be Peñaranda. There was yet more purity and distinction in the taste of the Fonsecas.

and Fonseca

Coca is, in its own kind, the most beautiful ruin in Spain, all of Mudéjar brick work that shades from deep rose to purplish brown, adorned with interlacing arches about the lower part and with rippled mouldings upon the cornice that make the mighty battlements seem to heave and flutter like drapery as you look from a turret landing platform along the curtain

Castle of Coca

wall. Built after 1473, foursquare it stands though the outer walls are gone. The gigantic keep in the north corner is perfect still, with round towers at the angles and round turrets in between and in the noblest chamber there a richly decorated vaulting remains, unfallen. At the angles of the inner ward octagonal towers carry on their external faces octagonal turrets of the kind called in Spanish *escaraguitas*, that dwindle down on diminishing lines of brick work to a point below. The outer barbican repeats the whole motive: great angle-towers turretted, drum-towers in the middle of the curtain, and lesser circular towers intermediate. The lower wall batters steeply from the depth of the grass-grown moat to above the level of the ground. A pair of great towers in the south wall flank the mighty portal and drawbridge, and a small postern on the other side of the castle opens toward the country and the river gorge; everywhere within are staircases going up through towers and others going down into the dark, and passages in the thick of the walls

Plate LXXXVIII

Plate XCI

and others reputed to run far underground; the allure or *chemin-de-ronde* is still passable within the shelter of the strange high cornice, wavy and dizzying as you look along. There are traces of stucco on the brick work, painted outside in diapers and *laceria.* It is perhaps a gain for the unity of impression that the whole Renaissance centre should be lost out of the castle, where still in the eighteenth century "marble columns of Corinthian and composite form" stood about the two-storied *patio* and painted tiles faced the walls and covered the floors.

Go, lovely rose

The castle is not venerable, it has no look of age or of the timeless. This is the challenge of beauty to mortality. The peculiar charm of Coca, as indeed of all the instances selected, is that it should be so all of a piece, built in a single intention—magical, in strange changing colours and strange wavering reduplicated forms, like a play of living fire burning out there on the short hot-smelling turf of the plain, in the pungent, resinous bright air.

§ 3

The Spanish house

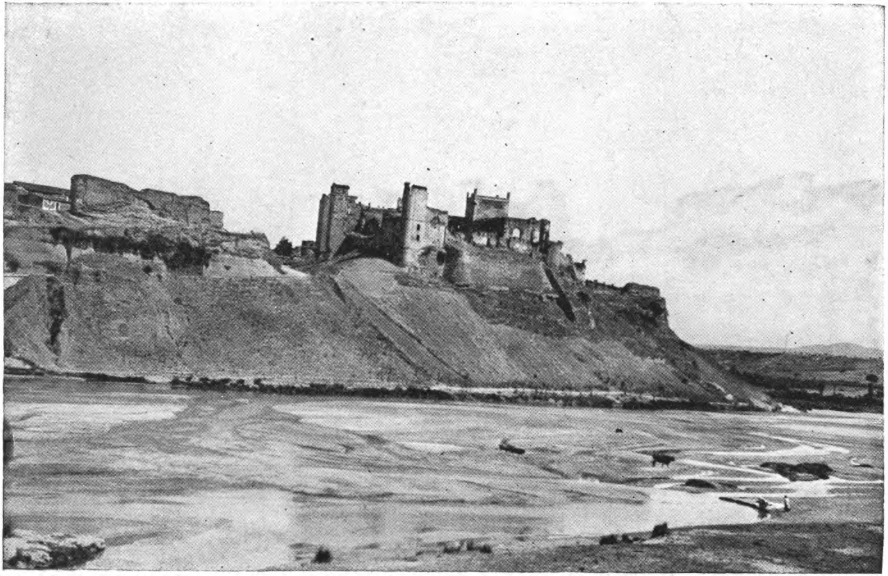
The Spanish house, even to this day, has two marked characteristics: the *patio* and the *alcoba*. The former is derived from the Roman house with its atrium, as we all know.[1] After Granada was taken, the Catholic Kings pulled down innumerable Moslem houses and had them rebuilt "with *patios*, in the manner of Castile." The alcove comes down from the Mesopotamian house with its *liwan* and its *odo*. Take the provincial capital or half-forgotten city in the centre of Castile, take the middle-class dwelling on the market in the heart of the town, enter for a visit of courtesy or to stay for a week; you will see glass doors opening from the *salon* into an alcove, which contains if nothing else a bed and a washing stand. In the stories of Galdós, of Pio Baroja, of Azorín, you will find the same arrangement; so also in the older sort of inns, not yet remodelled for tourists. This disposition is not Roman, not European, but it is Mesopotamian; it came with the Arabs

Patio

and alcoba

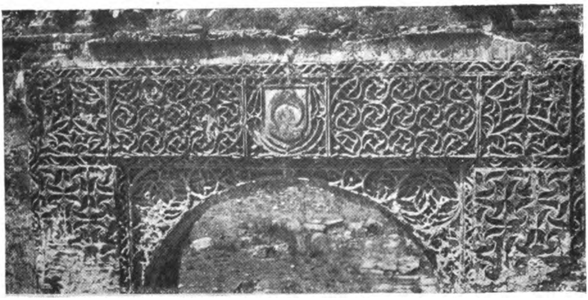
There is a striking note of Fernández y González[2] that begins as follows:

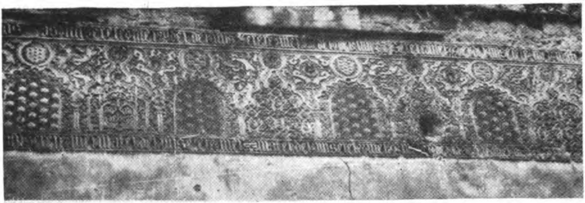
LXXIX

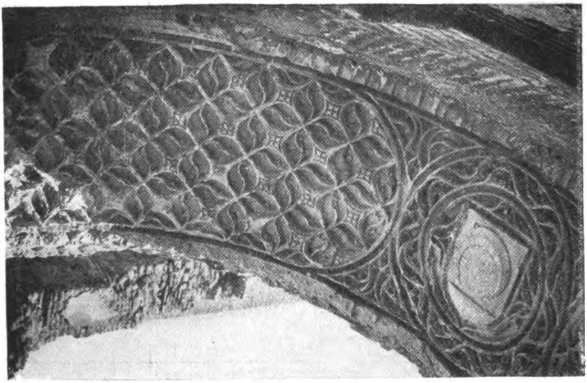


Escalona Above the River

LXXX







Plaster Work

1 and 3. Escalona 2. Medina del Pomar

"Our speech has a great lot of Arab words which are often the most significant and denote the indoor ways of our people. An oriental atmosphere breathes through innumerable words which we come upon naturally in all the uses of life. From the *zaguán* of the house to the *azotea*, the distribution of a Spanish dwelling, its component elements, ornament, *entabacado* (partitions) and *albañileria* (masonry), all recall the Arab influence. The *algibe* in the *patio* and the *alberca* in the orchard"—are cistern and pool respectively, and from these he goes on with about 112 words of daily life which do indeed, as he says, announce a society which has gone a long way from the pattern of the neo-Roman peoples. It is a commonplace that in the castles and palaces even where the exterior may be Gothic or Renaissance the interior is essentially Mudéjar, and this not only in the Castiles and Andalusia but almost everywhere. Two distinguishing traits serve sometimes to mark off the complete type from the approximate: as in the gates of cities, so in the *zaguán* or entry of private houses, the two

Arab words in daily use

doors open opposite when the antique classical tradition obtains, but at a right angle in pure Mudéjar, thereby screening the court from observation. Those *patios* that travellers look into as they pass along the streets of Seville and Cordova, testify to the persistence of the old Hispano-Roman culture side by side with the Asiatic. And in the strictly Moorish building, not just at Granada but in Don Pedro's Palacio de Yeseria at Seville, the galleries run along but two sides of the court and not four.

Plates in Mon. Arq.

Looking at the plans of the two principal floors in the palace in Guadalajara, and comparing them with those of the palaces that lie east and west of the Arabian Desert, one sees the likeness unmistakable; if not in the invariable juxtaposition of *liwan* and flanking chambers, like *tarma* and *oda* at Bagdad today, yet in a rhythmic alternation of larger and lesser rooms that still persists, with a curious continuance of long dividing walls that run parallel to the plane of the façade. It is wholly unlike the Greek and the Roman house, or the Italian or French. As the tower-ornament at Maqueda is like that at Samarra,[3] so the interior disposition in the palace of the Infantado is like that at Medina Azzahra.

Plate LXXXVI

V

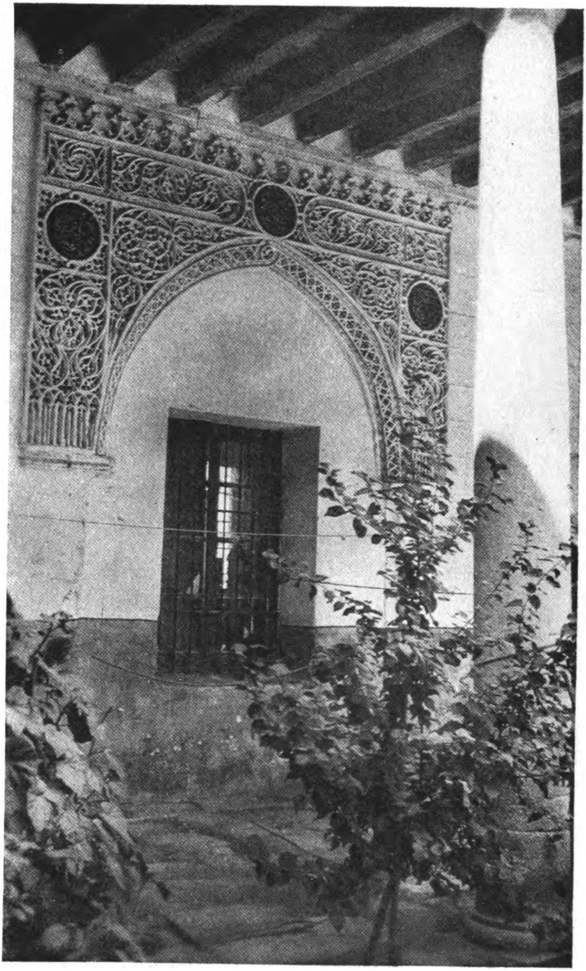
The Elements Style

THE kingdom of the Spains, over which D. Alfonso XIII is ruling, is not and was never a unit. Spanish is unlike anything else in the world, but it has never been all of a piece. So the presence and the distinction of regional styles has been apparent throughout this brief study, and they may be located and described very easily in coming to a close: the Castilian, which includes the western Duero and the Silver Road; the Aragonese; the Toledan which includes the line of the Tagus and the ancient province of New Castile extending up toward the frontiers of Aragon, embracing the Medinacoeli country and the diocese of Sigüenza; and the Andalusian with Guadalupe and Granada.

Regional styles

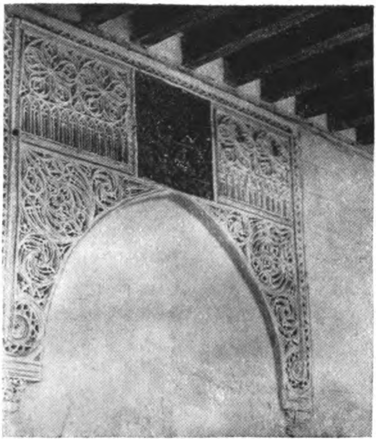
§ 1

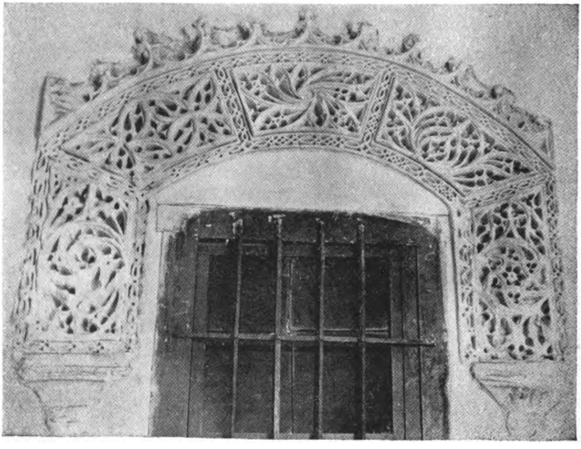
Castilian Mudéjar, said my master Lampérez,[1] is remarkable for the severity of exteriors and the complete Arabization



Patio in Segovia

LXXXII





Plaster Work, Segovia

of interiors, especially in the fifteenth century.
It starts in brick Romanesque as a Castilian
totally Christian manifestation, as at I
Arévalo in the church of La Lugareja, and 1 I
assumes a second form where the spirit is 2
Christian still but the hand is Moslem, for
instance at S. Miguel of Olmedo. The
development continues with increase of II
Mudéjar elements throughout the entire 1
kingdom of Castile, overrunning the frontiers
that Ferdinand I had carried down
to the line of the Duero and along a part
of the Silver Road, Toro, Zamora and Salamanca
with their outlying fringes, and
those also that Alfonso VI had fixed on the
Guadarrama for the strongholds of Raymond
of Burgundy, like Segovia and Avila,
ranging from Ciudad Rodrigo to Sahagun,
from Astudillo to Cuellar, from Mayoraga
to Peñafiel. The churches are basilican
in form, without transepts, with timber
ceilings of *laceria*, and with three semicircular
apses that sustain a barrel vault
and a semidome. Outside there is brick II
arcading, with engrailment. Finally there 2
is a style perceptibly more Mohammedan,

Cubical chapels

found especially in a peculiar sort of square or rather cubical chapels, which are simply an adaptation to Christian worship of the old form of the mihrab or sanctuary of a mosque or Moslem hermitage or wayside chapel. They carry a dome on interlacing ribs that leave a central bull's eye, and are furnished with *laceria* or honeycomb work. Nobody knows how many of these may be in existence still, or once were: La Mejorada of Olmedo stands a long way from anywhere among the ruins of a grange that was once a Jeronymite convent, and the present writer has seen three, inside the *clausura* at Las Huelgas.

Moors at Las Huelgas

The occurrence in one convent of three chapels identical in type and different in ornamentation, would itself prove that there *was* a type: in addition, a little documentation exists to prove that the nuns of Doña Leonor's foundation, like the monks of S. Domingo at Silos, had Moorish workmen. A characteristic band of plaster frieze carries the date 1275, and among old parchments is an appeal made to Ferdinand III in 1304 against taxing *los morros forros* of Las Huelgas *que nunca pecharon.* The three chapels, under the advocation respectively of S. James, the Saviour, and the Assumption, have all been cited already; they are quite unlike and probably of diverse epochs. My notebook records, furthermore, a wealth of halls and rooms with strips and bands of exquisite and wonderful *yeseria.* The workmen probably came up from the south, from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth.

Plaster work

La Mejorada is full of delicate pierced plaster work, of the sort especially prized at Olmedo and Cuellar; the dome ribbing is like that of Tordesillas, but the squinches which carry the dome are Persian absolutely. The reader may compare Lampérez's drawing with one from a photograph of Dr. Diez's, taken in a mosque of Ferahabad.[2] More than twenty years ago Lampérez had written, "The important thing is the persistence of constructive systems purely Mahometan through long spaces of distance and time"; our own generation has not yet explained how it was done.

Plate XLVI

Towers at Arévalo

In Castile there are Mudéjar towers, for instance at Arévalo, though none so fine as those of Aragon. There is a superb luxuriance of plaster work. There is but little tile.

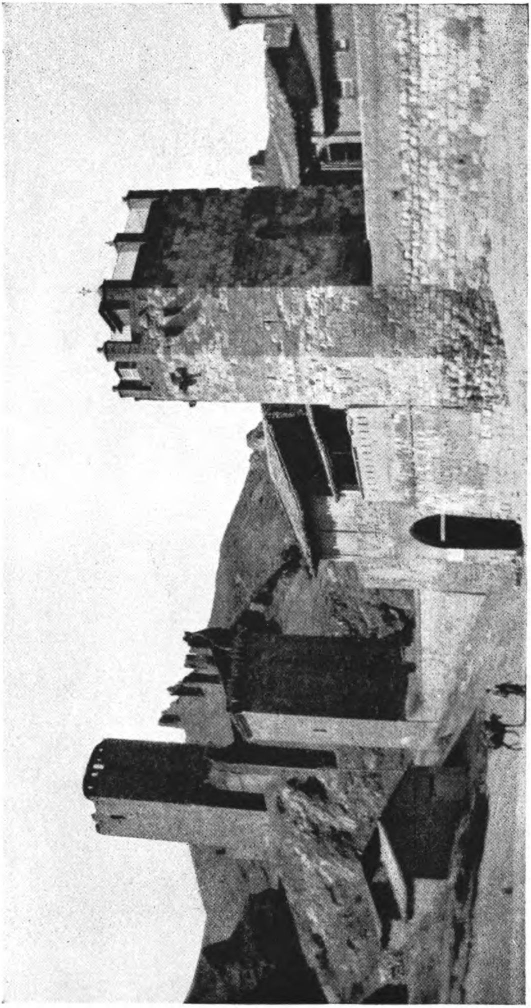
§ 2

Aragonese

Indeed the stubborn regionalism of Spain is a commonplace, the need not merely of liberty but of independence, which some have sought to explain as an Iberian trait or perhaps Celtic, for are not the ashes of Dublin like "the quenchless ashes of Milan," and is not the third name in the triad that of Saragossa? It would seem a part of the soil and the air, a virtue resident in the rocks and the water-springs which every people must undergo that becomes incorporate with the land. Certain it is that before the eighth century was ended the Moorish kings of Saragossa had declared themselves independent of the Caliphate.

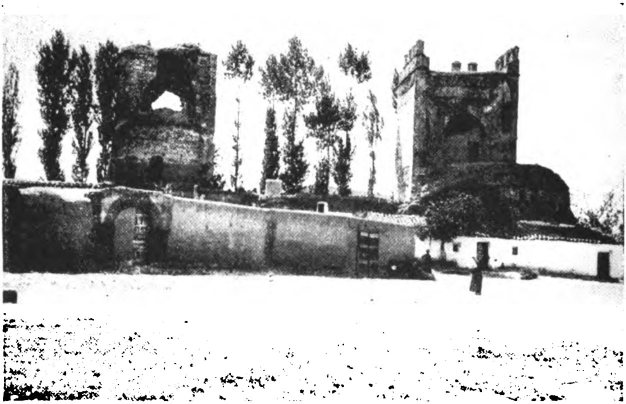
The kings of Saragossa were famous as illustrious, illuminated, and, while yet accomplished warriors, refined and softened

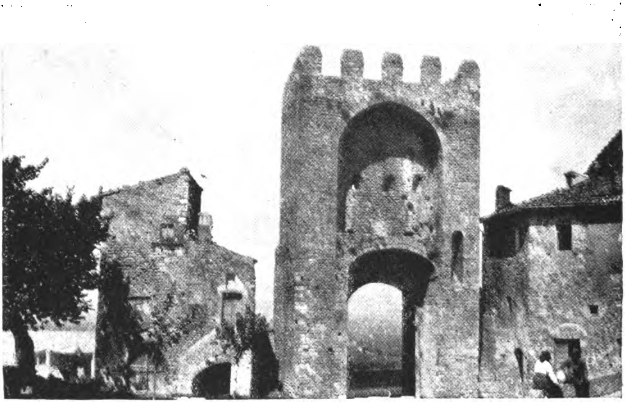
LXXXIII



Red Walls of Daroca

LXXXIV





City Gates

1. Madrigal de las Altas Torres
2. Open-Throated Gate

in manners; the Aragonese Mudéjars were to inherit their learning and love of literature, their delicacy of manners, and the splendour of their arts.

Delicacy of manners

The general character of Mudéjar in Aragon was its fidelity to Gothic in disposition and structure, its greater brilliancy and fantasy in accessory elements and in decoration and colour; the characteristic note was the use of shadow-patterns, in brick and brilliant tile. Fine carpentry there was, but even finer brick work. The churches are close to the Valencian-Catalan Gothic, with a single nave, a polygonal apse spanning the entire width, chapels between interior buttresses, simple ribbed cross-vaulting, covering wide bays rectangular in the nave and polygonal in the apse: exterior buttresses all the way up. The special features, towers and domes and *azoteas*, squinches, and architectural sculpture, have been already discussed in full.

and taste

For domestic architecture, and especially in the Renaissance, timber was used more splendidly than in other provinces. The palaces of Saragossa are Mudéjar of brick and timber with gallery and eaves-bracket; the palaces of Valencia are of stone flamboyant or baroque in decoration; and the domes and conical or pyramidal roofs of tile are not confined to any one part or one sort of architecture. Composition in domes The church of the Pilar seen across the brimming Ebro is as much a composition in domes as the Suliemanye in Constantinople.

§ 3

Toledan Toledo, which had a deep-seated Mozarabic life, felt little change when the Reconquest was achieved: it has already been observed how scholars are in disagreement whether to date a given monument before or after 1073. Guilds The various crafts which belong to building were organized in separate guilds of masons, plasterers, carpenters and stone-cutters. Mudéjars suffered more restrictions than in Aragon, but they fared better than Jews, and if in the thirteenth century the Archpriest of Hita and his friends thought and spoke as lightly of a pretty Mooress as men of their sort yet think and speak of a pretty mulatto girl, that is something which will always happen in contact with a subject race, while on the other hand the custom of alliance between Christian knight and high-born Mooress had never been disused, and the noble troubadour Alfonso Alvárez de Villasandino, who died in 1425, wrote very exquisite praise of one Moorish dame, fair like polished alabaster. If Pedro Pérez who designed the cathedral was a Christian, so was Juan Guas, but the latter's style was purely Mudéjar, and the famous architect family of Egas had an Arab cognomen.

So, Christian Kings and Moorish Queens

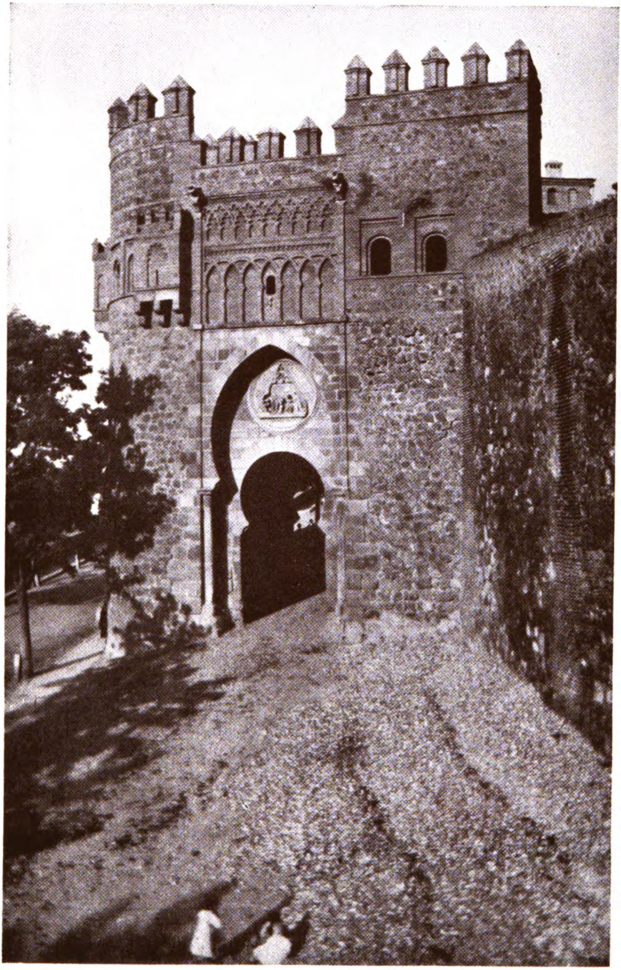
Arab style and name

Gothic more or less pure, and Romanesque touched with Mozarabic and then with Mudéjar traits, castles built like Maqueda by Moors or like Escalona with the square palace-core enclosed by a rambling polygonal castle, and adorned with *arabâs* of the Segovian type, of flamboyant Gothic tracery: these made up the architecture of the Tagus region. The strictly Mudéjar church had one nave and a square east end, like S. Juan de la Penitencia. The strictly Mudéjar palace had a portal with *alfiz* like those at Segovia and Salamanca, or perhaps flanking columns or patterned door jambs, but the rest of the exterior severely plain with carving and *yeseria* lavished on the *patio* walls. Plaster work that once covered the walls within, still survives at the synagogue of El Transito and in the Chapel of the Sacrament of S. Justo which is conceived, architecturally, precisely like the alcoves in a Moslem palace; it adorns the same sort of alcoves in the Taller del Moro and may be seen in a great chamber at the Casa de Mesa, and may not be seen though still extant in another at the convent of the Franciscan nuns.

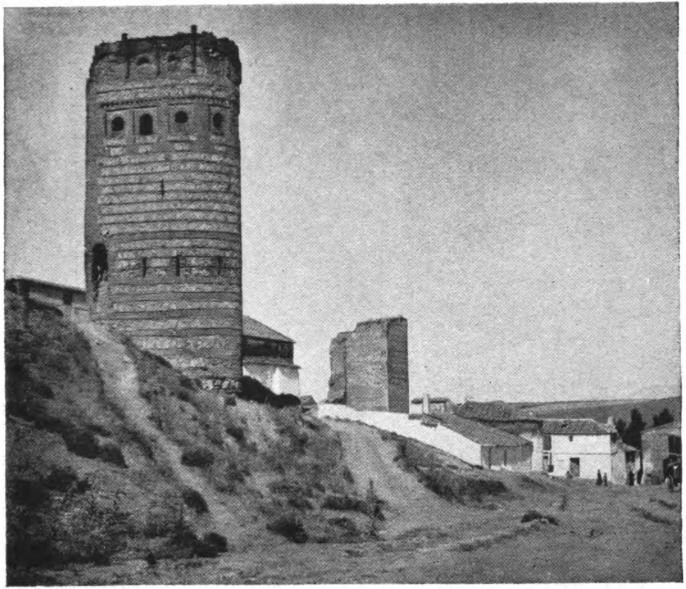
Chapels with alcoves Cf. p. 185

Illescas church is something a little apart: the tower is almost as rich as the tower of Santiago at Daroca, the vaulting of the earliest part of the church—the two easternmost bays—is domical and severe as that at Salamanca or Zamora. Gascons peopled the city at the Reconquest, and though in 1176 it was given to the cathedral chapter and the church cannot be earlier, yet the Aquitanian architecture of Doña Leonor was at home among the citizens.

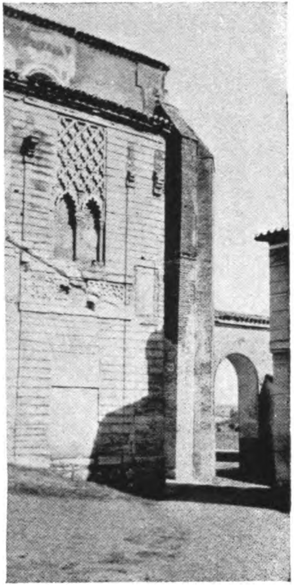
Illescas



Toledo: Puerta del Sol



Maqueda, Old Tower



Torderillas Convent,
Engrailment

Torrijos was yielded to the dukes who took a title thence by the cathedral chapter, and the building there is late and very delicate and airy in design, the plateresque portals of the collegiate church treating the Renaissance forms as Juan Guas treated the Gothic, as a field for embroidery and flourishing; the Altamira palace had superb *artesonados* overhead and plaster patterning on the walls.

Torrijos

A ceiling now in London

Coming northward up a main tributary of the Tagus, the river Henares, we must include at least three cities and some lesser places: the castle-towns of Cogulludo and the Real de Manzanares in the foothills that rise to the westward, then in the river bottom Sigüenza and Jadraque, Guadalajara and Alcalá. At Sigüenza through the cathedral along with the severe Romanesque mass of the masonry and the late Gothic and plateresque of tomb, portal and retable compositions, runs a strain of pure Mudéjar, appearing suddenly in the flamboyant carving of the choir stalls and anon in the plaster-work façade of the chapel of the Annunciation which is like a well-grown

Sigüenza

younger sister of the triptych of Piedra, over the frontier in Aragon.

Rich culture of Medinacoeli

Like the See, Alcalá and Guadalajara have a special luxuriance of ornament—take for instance the chapel of the University—due not so much to their lying so near the frontiers of Aragon as to their inheritance of an exceptionally rich Moslem culture that centred somewhere about Medinacoeli. The names of grammarians and legists that taught at Guadalajara, or of physicians and theologians who drew their titles thence, would mean little to the present reader;[1] more to the purpose is it to recall that when the *Poem of the Cid*[2] was composed in those parts by a *juglar* who was perhaps Mudéjar though Castilian-speaking, he gave to the Cid a good friend and faithful ally in the yet unconquered Moslem ruler of Medinacoeli, and therein presented an ideal figure.

In history this country about the upper waters of the Tagus ranges with Toledo, in architecture and legend with the Duero region, in ornament the blazonry would read: *Castile and Aragon party per pale.*

Of Guadalajara and Cogolludo something has already been said; of Alcalá it must go unsaid here, if only because the material has all been published many times, noting but two points: that the University façade, in despite of the Great Cardinal's Italianate intentions, can be called nothing but Mudéjar Renaissance, and that in the church of S. Mary the Auditor's Chapel, all overlaid with flamboyant and Gothic ornament of plaster work, is really of the same form as the Chapel of the Sacrament in S. Justo of Toledo. Derived from civil architecture, the *liwan* with its flanking alcoves in Moslem palaces, this type has the same exotic and surprising quality as the square chapels of Castile.

Mudéjar Renaissance

Cf. p. 182

Generally speaking, the Toledan architecture is distinguished by square towers, carried over from the *alminar*, façades that end in square stepped gables, smooth walls of brick and rubble, apses with arcading as in the Romanesque but cusped, interlaced, engrailed and festooned, and adorned with ornamental plaster; and inside, timber ceilings, very rich, and plaster work the most splendid, the most varied, the most imaginative in Spain.

§ 4

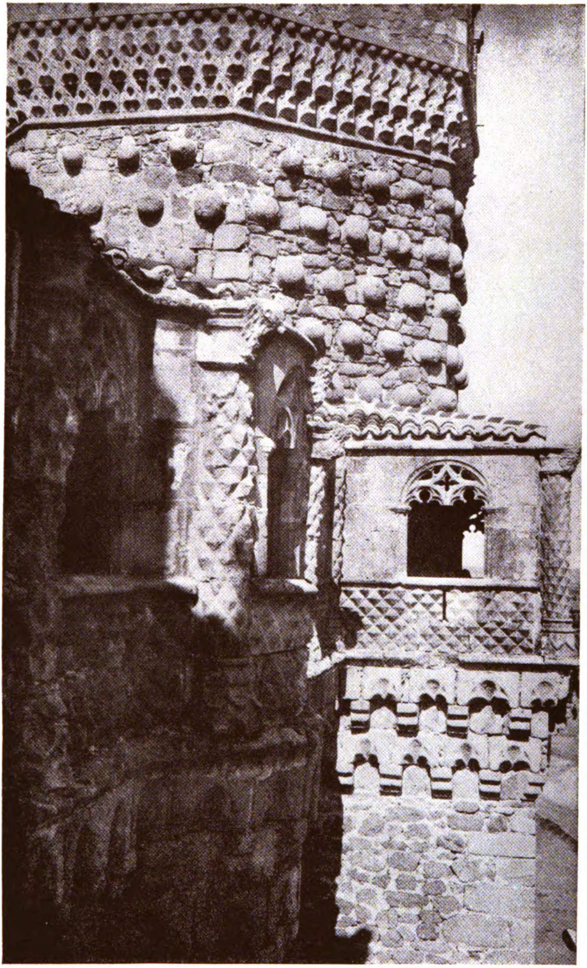
Andalusian

Lampérez says that the Mudéjar churches of Andalusia should, one would think, be Mohammedan, but are not. The Moslems were in Cordova and Seville till the thirteenth century, in Huelva till the fourteenth, in Malaga and Granada till the fifteenth, and long afterwards, in places like Jérez and Arcos, Lebrija and Niebla, they still kept authority, their own laws and court. Furthermore, a constant current of workmen was coming down from Granada through the Middle Age—as, for instance, to serve the King D. Pedro and Henry of Trastamara. The Ordinances of Seville show how the arts were in the hands of Mudéjars. Notwithstanding all this, the churches of Seville, as already said, look like rather shabby Gothic.

Moslem survival

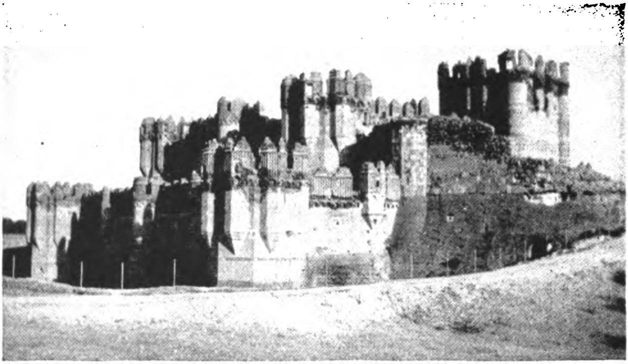
Guilds

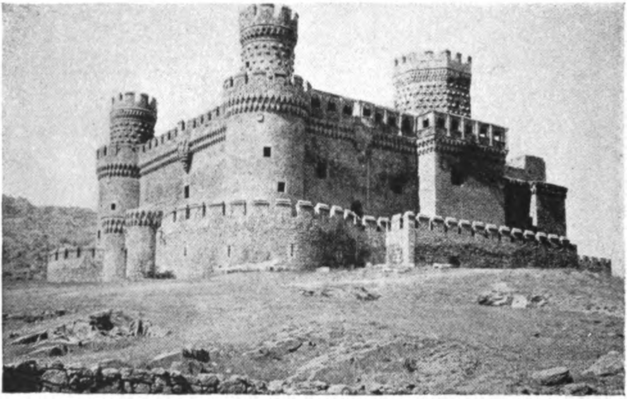
The towers are Mauretanian in aspect and actually Moorish in many cases—at S. Marina, S. Catalina, Omnium Sanctorum and others in Seville, with S. John



Castle of Manzanares

LXXXVIII





1. Coca 2. Manzanares el Real

of the Kings in Granada. Parts of many churches are remains of mosques, preserved and restored or rebuilt in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century. The disposition and structure is Christian and basilican, without a transept, with one aisle or three, one apse or three, following the Mozarabic and Visigothic use. The wooden ceilings have been cited.

Mosques still extant

By lesser details—certain window-forms, the engrailed arches of various Sevillian and Cordovan doorways, the technique of cut brick, the profusion of tiled dadoes, and similar things—the style defines itself as Christian in temper but with a sort of fragility which separates it from the Romanesque Mudéjar of Castile and the Gothic Mudéjar of Aragon. Secular architecture is either frankly Arabic like the Alcázar and the House of Pilate, or frankly Renaissance like the buildings of the Catholic Kings and Charles V and all their great nobles in Seville and Granada and the country which lies between and to the northeastward. Osuna and Marchena and Baeza could show façades to compare with

"A sort of fragility"

Salamanca and Guadalajara, but for them all the Italian Renaissance was imported from Carrara and the North of Italy, and unduly prized.

Rare and hybrid beauty

Monastic architecture, however, enjoyed a sort of hothouse-culture of which the finest flowers are S. Isidoro del Campo near Seville, La Rabida in the district of Huelva, and among the mountains of Estremadura the Jeronymite monastery of Guadalupe. That last is a thing like nothing else, completely apart and wholly native upon the soil.

Monastic building

The Foundation was rebuilt under Prior Fr. Fernando Yañez, 1389–1412,[2] a huge mass of brick often indistinguishable from stone, lifting cylindrical towers at the angles topped by pyramidal roofs of brilliant tile. The church itself, built 1389–1403, has the traits already discussed in naming the northern cathedrals: a dome on shell squinches, reticulated ribbing, sharp arches, and everywhere a play of elusive pattern and of fleeting shadow. The cloister is frankly and avowedly Mohammedan—the *patio de abluciones* of

Guadalupe

a mosque which has added a fourth gallery and a second range of galleries above. The little edifice at the centre is built up in overlapping gables and triangles of brick work like a sort of inverted recollection of stalactite pendentives. The other court is Gothic of a sort made of brick garnished with cut plaster until it simulates stone. That is the technique of the whole: curious, highly picturesque, but not profoundly imagined.

Fountain-house and cloister

Indeed, this seems the ultimate thing about Andalusian Mudéjar, in building and ornament both: that it is exotic, magical, unexpected, but never structural or profound. Perhaps the land was too rich; perhaps the lords of it were too often immigrant. The humbler excellences of Aragon, the more architectonic beauties of Castile, are finer, stronger, and more imaginative.

§ 5

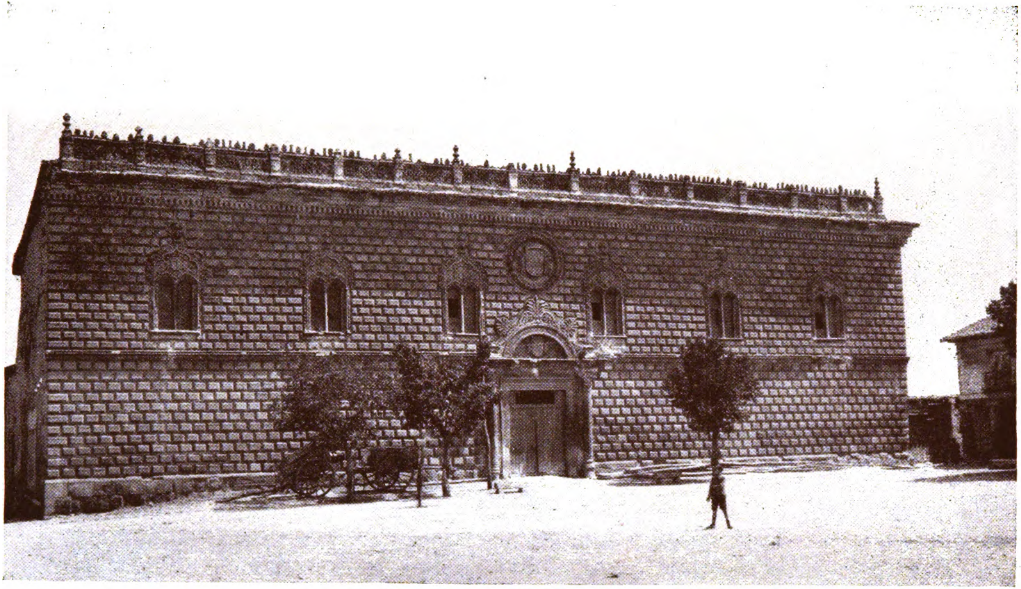
Sources

Mudéjar art, then, is found in all the periods of mediaeval building: in the Mozarabic, as at S. Baudelio; in the

Romanesque, as at S. Roman of Toledo and the earlier churches of Sahagun; in Gothic of the thirteenth century as at Teruel and Arévalo, of the fourteenth, as in the convent sanctuaries that D. Pedro planned for Maria de Padilla at Tordesillas and Astudillo, and the palaces he reared for her at Seville and Toledo; and of the fifteenth, as in the Segovian palaces of Enrique IV. The new cathedrals of Segovia and Salamanca that carry on the Gothic style into the sixteenth century, carry on also the Mudéjar work. In Renaissance castles and palaces it survived even longer.

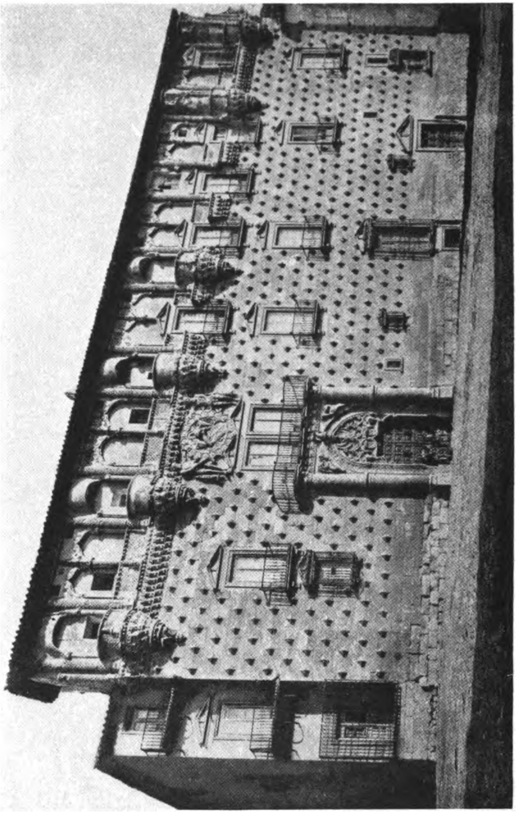
The sources of it have been recited more than once: Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, and the lands that lie back of Iran—Khorassan, Afghanistan, Seistan, and perhaps India. Take a single instance not already employed, the patterned brick work on S. Miguel of Guadalajara, and compare with it that upon the brick towers at Sengbest and Sarachs and Chosrugird in Khorassan, or at Herat south eastward in Afghanistan.[1] The domed heavy mass of building

Plate XCV



Palace of Cogolludo

XC



Palace of the Dukes of the Infantado

which is so striking at Arévalo, is recurrent in the domed tombs of Sengbest[2] and Sarachs, and also at Tus and Mesched which lie close together in Eastern Persia. Tus is on the great Khorassan Road. Now it is at Mesched,[3] in the shrine of a Moslem saint, that ribbed vaulting cells are drawn together in a way that parallels the honeycomb—a different way from the Persian squinch and its development in the Old Friday Mosque at Ispahan. Again, inscriptions have been found at Sarachs like that upon the cenotaph of Mahmud of Ghazna,[4] a rich and beautiful decoration conceived in two planes, like the work at El Transito.

The Great Khorassan Road

The wooden architecture of the North, which passed from somewhere in the eastern Baltic country, across Russia, across Asia somehow between the Altai and the Himalayas, even to China, left traces in Central Asia and came back by Northern Africa into Spain. That has been plainly shown already. Virtually the immediate source of that too, then, must be sought between Persia and China, on the Caravan Roads. It looks as though the Moslem

Wooden architecture of the North

country just west of India were another *Neuland der Kunstgeschichte.* How and when was the intercourse?

A New Problem

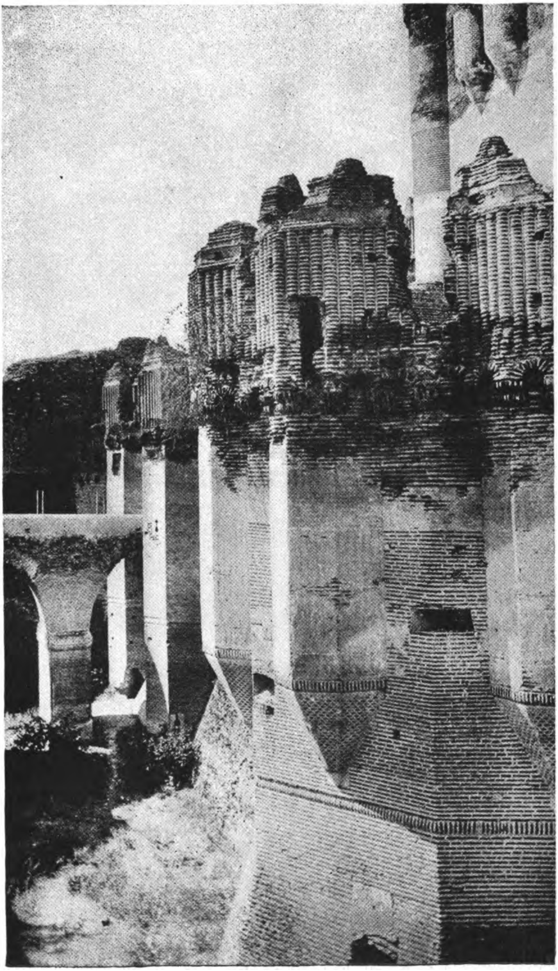
When due allowance is made for commerce, for prisoners of war, for artizans trained in the practice of guilds and crafts, and for pilgrims, who, being unable to travel like princes, abbots, and wealthy merchants to the shrines of Christianity and Islam, perhaps also of Buddhism, worked wherever they stopped, and so paid their way out and home again, arriving with more in the brain than the wallet, still after all this we are prepared to admit some means of contact that we cannot name precisely. The problems of the Romanesque age of the pilgrims, the epics and the monasteries are easier than these of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Likenesses appearing in thirteenth-century Castile or sixteenth-century Saragossa or in the form of the Persian squinch and stalactite that were not developed in Irak and Iran before the eleventh and twelfth nor completed before the seventeenth and eighteenth, while they appear in Cordova and Toledo and Olmedo regularly between the twelfth century and the fifteenth or the sixteenth—these are not fortuitous, but sometimes they are too nearly contemporary and sometimes not near enough. Between the ornament of Mahmud's tomb and that of D. Pedro's treasurer's synagogue what connection lies? There was plenty of time for the journey between the close of the eleventh century and the middle of the fourteenth, too much time. If we must, we can reckon by the bones along the wayside, as well as Kipling—but how shall these bones live?

and parallels unguessed

Trade

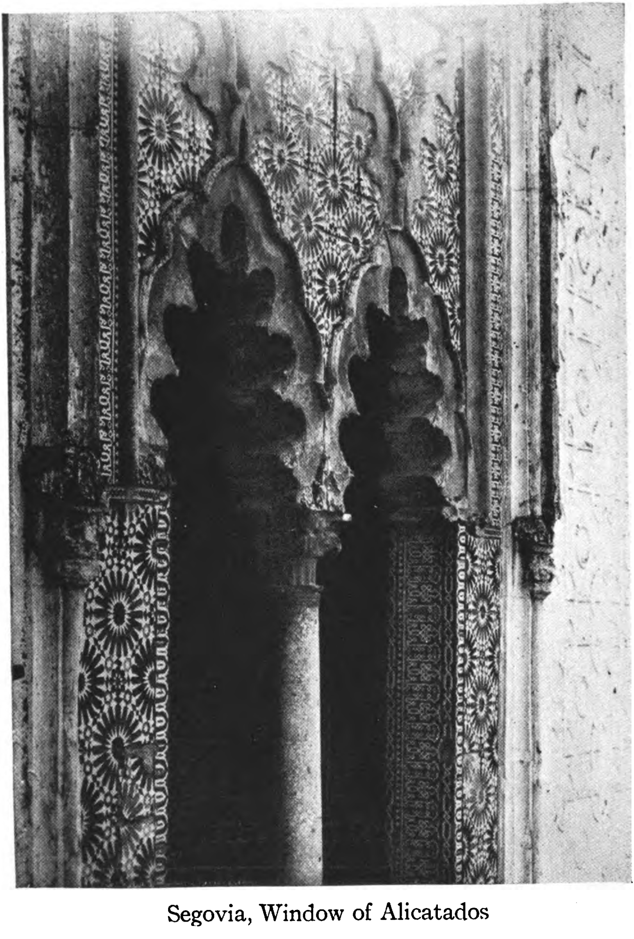
Aragon had had trade with the nearer East since the beginning of the Moslem domination. At the opening of the eleventh century Almondar-ben-Hud,[6] who ruled from Guadalajara to Lérida, was powerful on the sea southward from the Pyrenees, and sent his ships to Alexandria laden with the fruits of Spain to bring back merchandize from Syria and other provinces of the East. The Arab geographers of the thirteenth century show a knowledge which was common property in the Western Caliphate. **Jews** The Jews[6] all over the world were sending messengers and travellers back and forth, ever since the time that Chardai ben Isaac, the physician of Abderrahman III at Cordova, received envoys from the Khazars on the Volga. Abraham ben Chija of Barcelona was a geographer among other things, and so was Abraham Halevy ben Daoud at Toledo, and Benjamin of Tudela set out upon his travels that lasted from 1159 to 1173. There was another Jew, Jehuda Charisy ben Salomo, that died in 1255, who went to Egypt and the Holy Land and Irak, returning home by Greece.

Geographers Arab[7] geographers there were in these centuries as well, Arzakhel of Toledo and Al Bekri of Seville and Al Tortushi (Abu Bekr Mohammed) of Tolosa. Then Abu Hamid of Granada "runs over so much of the known world from Andalusia to the Oxus and from the Sahara to Kazan," and Edrisi though resident at the Sicilian court is in constant intercourse with Cordova. Ibn Jubair and Al Abdari of Valencia,



Coca: Walls and Moat

XCII



Segovia, Window of Alicatados

Troubadours Crusaders and Adventurers

Al Arabi of Seville, and Ibn Said of Granada, bring the adventures down to the days of Coeur de Lion and Doña Leonor. By this time the Reconquest was well established in Aragon, and the cities of Daroca, Teruel, and Tarazona were built up and received their *fueros*. From Cuenca to Plasencia the Mudéjars were adjusting themselves to their new life in the Castiles. After that the communication would be mainly through the Caliphate in the south, for although, as we know, the Catalan adventurers held Gallipoli for three years and set up a duke in Athens in the fourteenth century, these exploits had nothing to do with Mudéjar. Rather more probably have the lives and adventures of Abulfeda, Ibn Khaldun and the Mauretanian Ibn Batuta who actually traversed in person the very road by which this art must be traced.

Ambassadors

The thirteenth century had been the age of Christian political expeditions[8] with missionary intent—the embassies from the Pope to the Grand Khan, just before the middle of the century, and immediately thereafter that of S. Louis and the commercial enterprize of the Venetians. Carpini and Fr. William Rubriquis were followed by Marco Polo, and Rubriquis encountered in Armenia, as he came home, a Catalan Dominican called Brother Bernard. Meanwhile as early as 1238 the Mongols had sent an embassy to Henry III of England: the age of the Nomade Peace had thrown open the Middle East to determined travellers as completely as the Congress of Vienna or the Treaty of Versailles had reopened Europe. Good Raymond Beazley is quaintly sorrowful when he records "the overthrow of the Yuen in China and the Islamizing of the Western Tartars," and the passing of "that extraordinary freedom of international intercourse which for more than a century (1245–1368) had bound together the most distant lands of sunset and sunrising," long before the envoy of Castile made his journey to Samarkand. Yet, as we have seen earlier, for Persian art and Mesopotamian, Mauretanian and Sicilian, Egyp-

The Nomade Peace

tian and Spanish, this later hour was the great fertilizing time.

Spanish Embassies to Asia

Enrique III had sent ambassadors to the court of Tamburlane the Great, Pelayo de Sotomayor and Hernando Sanchez de Palazuelos, and when they came back in the end they brought noble dames in their company who ultimately made great marriages, and who move, rare and shining figures, through fifteenth century poetry. In 1403 Ruy González de Clavijo went to the Mongol court at Samarkand, along the great Khorassan Road, passing such towns as Chosrugird and Nishapur and Sengbest and Mesched where was the shrine of a saint of Islam, and on one side lay Sarachs and on the other Chargird. Meanwhile on the Caspian lay Ferahabad.

xvii c. Plate XLVI

Mongol Turk and Mauretanian

To the renewed intercourse with the Mongol empire, to the Islamized Turks and the fresh impulse of Moslem geographers we may lay the renewed splendours of plaster and brick work, the fresh forms in structure and decoration that appeared in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century.

Seljuk

Besides this, the Seljuk ornament of Asia Minor makes probably a definite though sporadic reappearance. The incongruities of scale, for instance, in the upper frieze of the Hall of the Ambassadors at Granada, the oddities of arrangement, like the door of D. Pedro's palace at Toledo which may be compared with a mosque door at Divrigi,[10] have a quaint Seljuk air. This is the sort of thing one traveller returning would have fetched. But just as between the ninth and the thirteenth century Cairo and Samarra supplied conspicuous models, so in the fourteenth and the fifteenth did the easternmost domains of the Sultan.

Caliph and Soldan

§ 6

Legacies

If we ask what Mudéjar bequeathed in the end, the answer is already apparent. First of all, what might be called all-overness of design carries therewith the entire plateresque[1] style of Spain, with its low relief, its recurrent patterns, its indifference to balance and accent. The special offshoot of Gothic in conopial forms and interlacing star-patterns of doorheads and iron

1. All-over pattern

work, that occurred between 1480 and 1520, and appeared with most striking effect in the work of Enrique Egas and the architect of Batalha, seemed better dealt with as a branch of Mudéjar proper. But the disposition of Renaissance architects at Valladolid and Aranda del Duero and Salamanca, Calatayud and Torrijos and Saragossa, to treat the entire church-front like a retable, is a thing apart. It represents again in a different form a characteristic repudiation of the Gothic principle of supremacy and subordination about which the architects of the Catholic Kings and the Emperor in the sixteenth century were curiously indifferent. They felt precisely like the architects of the Ghassanid kings in the sixth.

Door-heads and church-façades

In the second place, it gave to Spain the mosque type of church, four-square, equally high everywhere—or almost, with lofty cylindrical piers of clustered mouldings or of none; S. Pedro of Soria, the colegiata of Berlanga, offer noble instances. At Alarcón there is a very humble example, at Seville the greatest of all. This is not the hall

2. Mosque type

not hall type

church of the east coast which is in the last analysis like a gabled barn, for here the space composition attempts a square and room-like space, high, wide, and clear.

Baroque The last and the best of the legacy was Churriguera. This is no place to discuss the problem of Spanish baroque, the lightness and grace which has never the triviality of rococo, the elegance and equilibrium which make the entire inside of a chapel into a composition as for chamber-music (there is one at Los Arcos in Navarre and another, dedicated to the True Cross, in Salamanca), which takes for the unit a complete city square as in Salamanca, or a complete model town, as at Nuevo Baztan, yet never losing charm in certitude nor sacrificing delicacy to nobility, stands in the end as the most completely and exclusively Spanish of all styles. **described** The qualities of Mudéjar are those of the Churrigueresque: the use of moving pattern, of colour, of multiple fractional infinitesimal details. From the engrailments in brick work at Teruel or in Mauretania, to the plaster-work patterns of Charles V's restorations at the Alhambra and the Alcázar of Seville, and thence to the fanciful and sugared sweetness of domes at the Charterhouse of Granada or La Blanca in Seville or S. Tecla in Burgos cathedral, the progression is straight, without a halt or a slip.

§ 7

The elements of design may be named very rapidly: Design

I. 1) Preference for an all-over pattern,

2) for arches repeated, superimposed, and sometimes interlaced and

3) for all the interlacings that go by the generic name of engrailment when curved, stepped, or generated by arcades, and

4) of *laceria* when formed by straight lines and angles which in their crossing form polygons and in their movement never return, and lastly

5) when composed in three dimensions become *mocarabes* or honeycomb work, into which the curved line and surface is reintroduced though the dominant planes are vertical, just as in *laceria* they are horizontal.

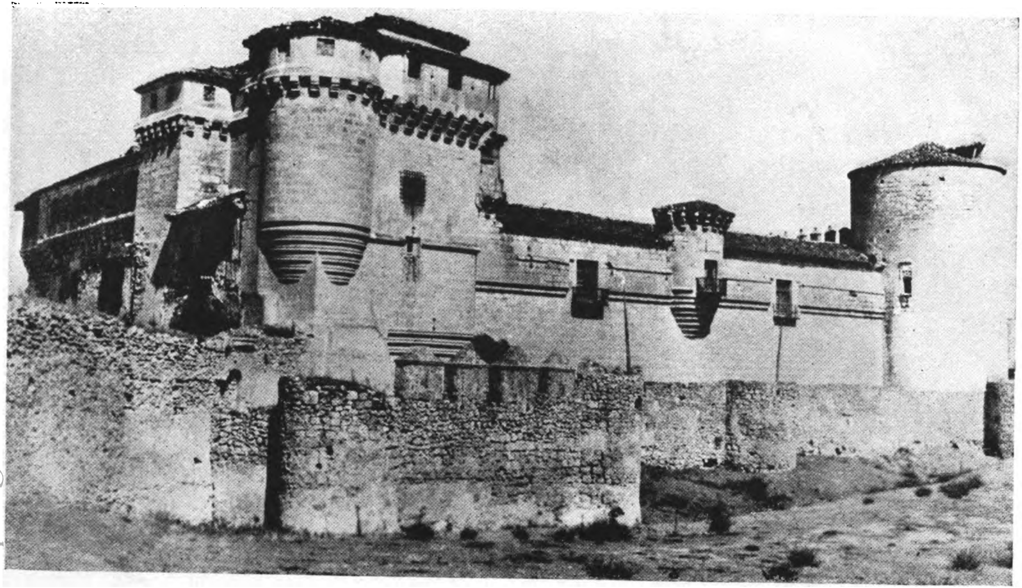
Plates XCII, XCIV

II. Use of colour, especially in the form of tile: as floor and wall tiling, at first cut out and inlaid in what are called *alicatados* and later painted with manganese lines to form cells filled with pure colour, which constituted the earliest sort of *azulejos;* and also in the ceramic inlay employed in brick architecture, chiefly in Aragon; finally, in the brilliancy of roof-tiles, deep blue, strong green, flaming yellow, especially in the province of Valencia.

III. Three idiosyncrasies of the style may be named together as repudiating symmetry of balance:

1) Fantastic ornament which is what we call out of scale, and for which the source is probably Seljuk and Central-Asian.

2) A preference—not universal—for the horseshoe arch, and for the pattern without an end, with a dislike for conscious symmetry or for the return of a design upon itself. To follow one band in *laceria* is to see how it may cross the entire ceiling but never double back upon itself. The irregular hexagon and the trapezium have been already named and another familiar



Cuellar, Gallery and Towers

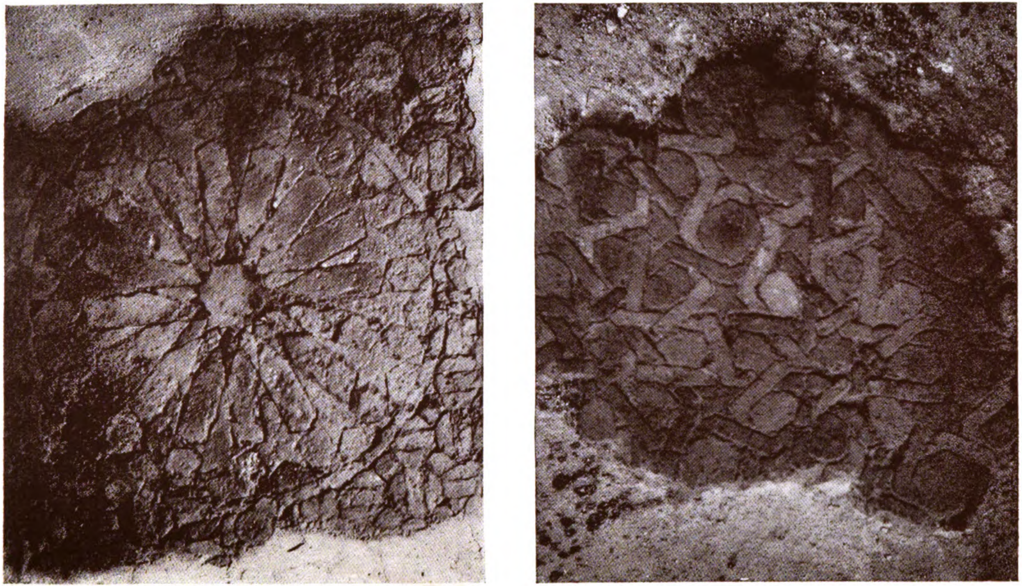


Photo. Mas

Poblet Cloister: Alicatados

polygon of the *artesonados* made by suppression and inversion has no name in geometry but looks like a thickened Y that has lost some of its tail.

3) A passion for the third dimension, whether by space-composition, as in the mosque type of church and stalactite domes and passage-ways, or by mass composition, as in honeycomb work or modelled or pierced plaster, or by mere superposition of two or more planes of ornament as in nearly all *yeseria* but especially such ornament as the cartouches of El Transito. This particular form was probably invented to carry an inscription in Cufic lettering with an undertone of lovely design going on all the while—it occurs at Ghazna, Chargird, and Amida (copied in painting at Sengbest) and then reappears on an *arabâ* from Burgos castle in the fifteenth century, the Toledan work omitting the letters in most cases but enforcing the division into two planes.

Intention

The intention of the artist, then, on the material side, is to seek continuity without relief, in combinations that are never resolved; and on the spiritual, it is, at the happiest and lightest moment, to tease us out of thought, and in the profounder and more impassioned, to bewilder and intoxicate.

Power

This explains, perhaps, the dark enchantment that Spain has for spirits of a certain temper, the irretrievable and ever-recurrent power over mood and memory and desire.

VI

§ 1

At first undertaking this short study, necessarily brief and consciously inadequate, the writer had intended to include the other arts— ivory carving and iron-working, textiles and ceramics, glass and carpets and damascened steel, the Hispano-Moresque lustre ware and the triptych of Piedra. Material in plenty exists, in records, in museums, and in the market places of cities; a Latin poet once praised the Spanish carpets; Street noted the beautiful ware they make at Tarazona and we have seen ourselves at Teruel the belated, far-off, unacknowledged offspring of what was once the special art of Raqqa. Books have been published on the iron work. About the *loza* of Manises, the tiles and the Hispano-Moresque pottery, D. Guillermo Osma had learned much, forming a collection of exquisite examples, and had written a few short studies; all this

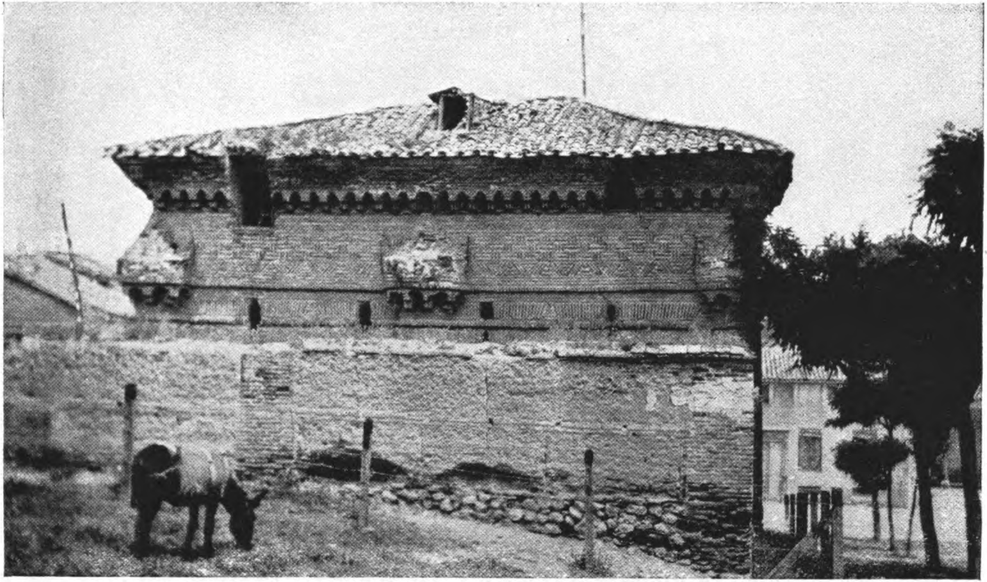
Other Arts

Armourer and

peasant potter

Inventories

but a commencement before he died. Something has been done in the way of gathering textiles together, but they are not yet discriminated. Fernández y González[1] quotes from some old inventories: "Morisco work of the most fastidious labour, delicate samites of Cordova and Talavera, arms and cutlery of Albacete, rugs and mats of Murcia, very precious Spanish leathers, utensils of pewter and of gold-smith's work and stuffs embroidered in gold." When D. Gonzalo Palomeque was elected Bishop of Cuenca in 1273, the inventory of his goods included "cushions and carpets of Murcia, striped table covers of Tlemcen, striped covers of Toledo, light rugs of Murcia, tent-stuffs, samites of silk, cups of glass, Moorish *serviellas* of pewter to drink water, mats of Murcia *para paret et para estrado* (for the walls and the daïs), wooden Moorish writing desks, chessmen of ebony and ivory, and Syrian stuffs." The Archbishop of Toledo a few years later had so many oriental textiles in his house that the list is worth copying, the more that the word for "oriental" is *Tartar:*



Brick Work at Guadalajara: S. Miguel

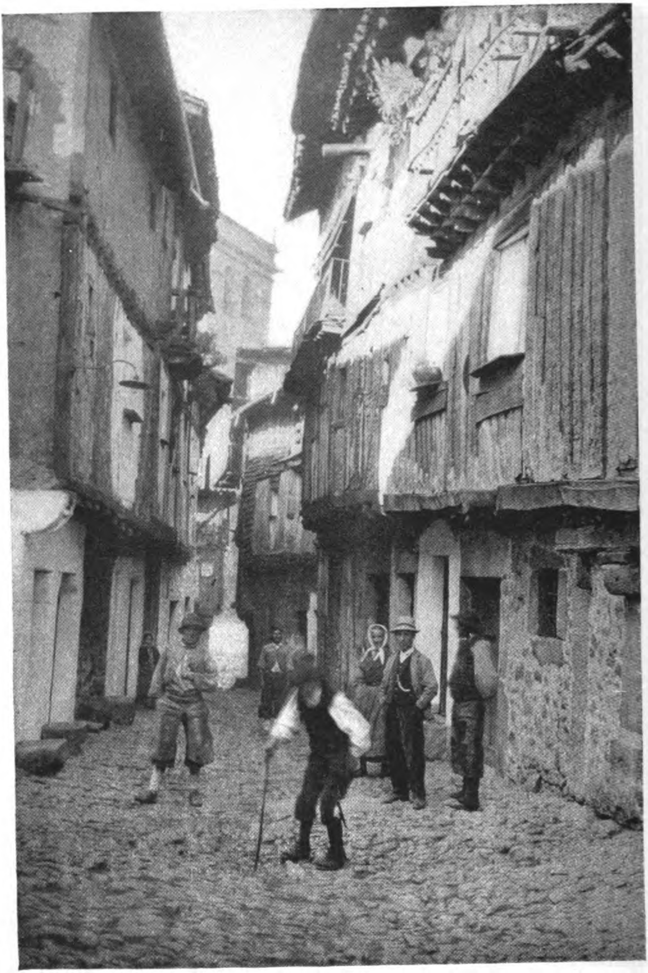


Photo. E. N. Lowber

La Alberca

> Unus pannus operatus ad aves de auro et campus de serica viridi, item unus alius pannus tartaricus cum campo de seta alba et vite aurea, item unus pannus tartaricus de seta rubea cum pinis aureis, item unus pannus tartaricus de seta viridi.

Turkish silks

In truth the only place to pursue this particular sort of *Kunstforschung* is in museums and up to the present year the museums for the most part know nothing, they can only bewilder and confuse. Spanish silks are called Italian in Lyons, Spanish glass is called Egyptian in New York, Spanish pottery is called Asiatic in Paris, just as Chinese work was long attributed to Japan and Turkish work still miscalled. At the Hispanic Society in New York there are people working, publishing, but what are they among so many?

Industries

What are the canons of Spanish, anyway, in the industrial arts? *¿Quien sabe?* The simplest principles have not yet been formulated. How can we know the lustre of Cordova from that of Damascus in the ninth century? Or the ivories of Cuenca from those of Persia in the eleventh? Or indeed the enamels of Barcelona from those of Florence in the fifteenth? Or the silks and brocades from those of Asia Minor, Lucca, and Venice in the sixteenth? No museum knows. The work waits to be done. Thereafter, the Mudéjar portion may be singled out and a second volume be appended. This one is too long already.

"Davon später"

§ 2

Letters

Literature is in a different case. There is very little, and it has been studied.[1] The so-called *aljamiada* is a dialect of Spanish, written in Arabic script, precisely as Yiddish is a dialect of German, written in Hebrew lettering. The Mudéjars of Aragon spoke the language of their land, but they wrote as their fathers had written.

Little enough remains: the *Poem of Joseph*, which is as old as the thirteenth century, the legend of Iskander Dulkarnain which is to say Alexander the Great, and a handful of tales and traditions relating now to Mahomet and again to Jesus, some apologues, fables, and fairy-tales. It is a literature of poor folk.

MSS. of Almonacid de la Sierra

In the heart of Aragon, not very far from Teruel, a heap of manuscripts was discovered in 1884, under the floor of a house. The village was called Almonacid de la Sierra.[3] Some had been burned in part, most were tattered, many were scattered before their interest was perceived. They dated from the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Some were in Arabic, most of them in *aljamiada*, all were proscribed, hidden, and of little worth except to the proscribed and humble people who had treasured them. There are treatises in dogmatic theology, fragmentary translations and abstracts from the Koran, formulae used in a notary's office; there are spells and superstitions, prayers, summaries of morals and law according to the Malaqui sect, and a discourse on the religious obligations of ablution, oration, legal almsgiving, fasting, holy wars, and pilgrimage. There are also the accounts of a merchant who must have lived in Medinacoeli, and the accounts of one Juan Mecod, a muleteer or drover of Almonacid de la Sierra.

Often the Arabic texts are interlined in *aljamiada.*

Blessed the meek

They are indescribably touching, these tattered papers which must stand to us for a whole people, these oriental rags and tags of story that sufficed for their imagination. A drawing by J. F. Millet, a page of Azorín, would be the best commentary. Once peopling all the land, then in subjection, but yet at times skilled craftsmen, in honoured guilds, in fruitful labour, creators of a sort of beauty incomparable, even in their own age rare and precious and sought after by princes and great lords, or at other times country men of dairy and glebe, of wide-rolling wheat field and cool white-dusted vibrating water-mills, they loved their kin, their land, their labour, and they were happy. Lastly, they were to be baptized, and they were to be expelled. Mudéjar was done.

Typical is all this, and symbolic. The application let the reader make.

Mudéjar art lasted for at least seven hundred years; it is one of the things in Spain—and there are several—which has

Humble and perfect

no parallel elsewhere. It was a humble art, of patient craftsmen, of far-off hints and memories, of restricted undertaking and perfected fulfillment. It extended, as has been seen, over nearly the whole of Spain, it penetrated into the sanctuary and the dwelling, it was a part of every man's daily existence. It made fair and lovely the things we cannot do without. For one age of the world, the meek did inherit the earth.[8]

LIST OF ALJAMAS

Aljamas in Castile

Aljamas in the Kingdom of Castile (Fernández y González, p. 134) at the following cities: Astorga, León, Villavicencio, Sahagun, Santa Olalla, Zamora, Salamanca, Avila, Segovia, Valladolid, Burgos, Logroño, Viguera, Soria, Medinacoeli, Molina, Brihuega, Guadalajara, Almoguera, Hita, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Talamanca, Escalona, Maqueda, Alfamin, Aceca, Illescas, Ocaña, Toledo, Talavera, Alarcón, Cuenca, Villaexcusa de Haro, Requena, Alcázar de S. Juan, Alcaraz, Murcia, Mula, Alicante, Baeza, Quesada, Lucena, Andújar, Baena, Cordova, Constantina, Moron, Jérez de la Frontera, Arcos, Badajoz, Seville, Carmona, Coria, Plasencia; and, in the country, colonies at Gumiel, Palma, Castro del Rio, Almodóvar, Xiste, Fortuna, and la Habanilla; with free labourers in the valley of Cañamero in Estremadura, Siliebar in the kingdom of Seville, in the valley of Ricote and Alguaza del Obispo in the territory of Murcia.

To these must be added, from a later list (p. 221): Toro, Palencia, Arévalo, Haroba, Velez-Blanco, Velez-Rubio, Galera, Castilleja, Vera, Purchena, Adra, Almería, Baza, Guadix, Dalia, Bolodui, Andarax, Berja, Jubiles, Ferreira, Poqueira, Órgiba, Maracena, Granada, Baeza, Estepa, Lucena, Huelva.

In the middle of the XVI century there were Morisco families in the following cities

Moriscoes thereafter

(p. 222 note): Burgos, Valladolid, Carrion, Madrigal, Dueñas, Palencia, Medina del Campo, Olmedo, Arévalo, Segovia, Avila, Toro, Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Alba de Tormes, Aranda de Duero, Salamanca, Ágreda, Aguilar, Medinacoeli, Toledo, Madrid, Illescas, Torrejon de Velasco, Barajas, Torrejoncillos, Talamanca, Valdemoro, Alcalá, Guadalajara, Yepes, Ocaña, Villarubia, Dos Barrios, Chinchon, Pastrana, Torrijos, Maqueda, Cuidad-Real, Campo de Calatrava, S. Cruz de la Zarza, Mondejar, la Puebla de Montalban, Colmenar de Oreja, Priego, Talavera, Cuenca, Huete, Villanueva de Alcaudete, el Toboso, Escalona, S. Clemente, Corral de Almoguer, la Mota del Cuervo, Socuéllamos, Almodóvar del Campo, Manzanares, Villanueva de los Infantes, Cozar, Montiel, la Membrilla, la Solana, Alcaraz, la Parrilla, Val de Peñas, Villanueva de la Zarza, Villarobledo, Chinchilla, Albacete, Segura de la Sierra, Almaden, Puebla de Alcocer, Almonacid, Alcázar de Consuegra, Beas, Villarejo de Salvanés, el Viso, Bailén, Quesada, Lucena, Jaen, Martos, Écija, Andújar, Badajoz, Llerena, Frejenal, Burguillos, Medellin, Villanueva del Fresno, Villanueva de la Serena, Magocela, Buenquerencia, Jérez de Badajoz, Segura de León, Feria, Plasencia, Valencia of the Order of Alcántara, las Brozas, Cáceres, Trujillo, Merida, Béjar, and Oropesa.

For the Mudéjars of Aragon I have no such complete register. The same author says (p. 270) that in 1315 there existed in Aragon aljamas of considerable importance at Teruel,

Aljamas in Aragon

Albarracin, Huesa, Daroca, Hariza [Ariza], Tarazona, Borja, Saragossa, Aranda and Huesca with Malexan, Albeta, Ribas (in the neighbourhood of Huesca); Tórtoles, Conchillos, S. Cruz (in that of Tarazona); Calayayud, and (again within a fixed boundary) Gotor, Jargue and Massones; also Terrer, and Sabinan. Lampérez adds (ii. 539) for Navarre: Tudela (very important), Cortes, Fontellas, Corella, Pedriz, Ablitas, Monteagudo, Marchante, Valtierra, Murillo; Valencia, Gallinera and Jativa, Elche, Ella, Novella and Asp are all in the Kingdom of Valencia. (Fernández y González, *op. et loc. cit.*)

BRIEF GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL WORDS

Glossary

Adarve, *chemin-de-ronde* or upper gallery of a castle or palace; the same as *azotea*.

Ajímez window, twin windows, two under one arch.

Alarife, Master-Builder.

Alero, eaves-bracket.

Alfiz, moulding that frames a window or door.

Alicatados, tiling made by cutting out and putting together the pieces of coloured terra cotta in a pattern usually geometrical; an early sort.

Aljama, Moor's Ghetto.

Aljamiada, the language thereof, a dialect of Aragonese written in Arabic; thence by extension applied to architecture between Romanesque and Mudéjar.

Almohadillado, stone worked smooth at the edges but pillowing out in the centre of the block; a variety of rustication.

Angrelado, engrailed, arch-heads interlacing in lozenge or other patterns.

Arrabá, (defined Lampérez ii, 556) a sort of *alfiz* that descends only to the springing of the arch and includes the spandrels.

Artesonado, wooden ceiling shaped like a kneading-trough.

Atauriques, hearts of plants, acanthus palmettes, and fennel-leaf pattern (defined Gómez-Moreno *Ornament. Toled.* 3), hence any leaf-motives used in continuous decoration.

Azotea, upper gallery of a palace; used especially in Salamanca.

Azuléjos, tiles painted with designs in colour before the firing.

Cubos, circular or drum towers.

Escaraguitas, turrets corbelled out on brackets that dwindle.

Garitones, more like the Scotch pepper-pot turrets.

Laceria, interlace of bands in geometric forms, constituting polygons.

Mensula, corbel under ribs or eaves.

Mocarabes, honeycomb work, often called stalactite.

Sardineles, saw-tooth ornament of brick work.

Voladizos, corbels, eaves, or penthousing.

Zaguán, the entry of a house, opening directly from the road or street and often accessible on horseback.

Zapata, "shoe," the trapezoidal piece of timber placed on the post to carry the beam.

NOTES

NOTES

I

§ 1. Sources: Fernández y González, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla;* Altamira, *Historia*, vols. I and II; Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española, Arquitectura civil;* Gómez-Moreno, *Arte Mudéjar Toledano, Ornamentacion Mudéjar Toledana;* Haskins, *Medieval Science;* Quadrado, *Aragon, Asturias, Salamanca, Castilla la Nueva, Valladolid* (in *España sus Mon*).

[1] Diaz Jiménez, *Inmigracion Mozarabe*, 127–8

[2] Dozy, *Recherches*, I, 116.

[3] Quadrado, *Aragon*, 633, note.

[4] Férotin, *L'Abbaye de Silos*, 16–18; Fernández y González, *Mudéjares de Castilla*, 114.

[5] Gonzalo de Berceo, *Vida de S. Domingo de Silos*, stanzas 433–443.

[6] Férotin, *op. cit.*, 44–45, 76.

[7] Gómez-Moreno, *Ornamentacion Mudéjar*, p. 2; Casket of Silos, dated 1027, of Palencia, 1050, both made in Cuenca.

[8] Fernández y González, *Mudéjares de Castilla*, Part 1, chap. x, Part 2, chap. vi.

[9] Haskell, *Medieval Science*, chaps. i, iv, vi.

[10] Entwistle, *Arthurian Legend*, 33, 186. Bruce, *Arthurian Romance*, 315, 318 seq.

[11] Cf. G. G. King, *Military Orders*, 30–36, 51.

[12] Haskins, *op. cit.*, 16–19. Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, chap. viii and *passim*.

[13] Smith, *Poems of Mutamid*, 54.

[14] Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, 114.

II

§ 1. Sources: Quadrado, *Aragon;* Cresswell, *Evolution of the Minaret.*

II
§ 1

[1] Quadrado, *Aragon*, 634.

[2] Loomis, Modena, Bari, and Hades, *Art Bulletin*, 1924, 71–74.

[3] Cresswell, Evolution of the Minaret, *Burlington Magazine* (1926), xlviii, 139.

[4] Beylié, *Le Kala'a des Béni-Hammad*, p. 1.

[5] Fernández y González, *Mudéjares de Castilla*, 100, note 2.

[6] Quadrado, *op. cit.*, 630, note.

[7] Cresswell, *op. cit.*, 252 seqq.

[8] Nuess, *Die Katalanischen Bibelillustration*, fig. 7 and *passim.*

[9] Street, *Gothic Architecture*, II, 178–86.

[10] Cresswell, *op. cit.*, pl. II, facing p. 257.

[11] *Id. ibid.*, 290 seqq.

[12] Quadrado, *op. cit.*, 369–377; Dozy, *Recherches*, I, 232.

[13] Saladin, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, I, 224, 232–33, 262, 265, 268–69, 303.

[14] Lampérez, *Arq. Civil*, II, 488–490; Quadrado, *op. cit.*, 410 seqq.

[15] Diez, *Persien*, pp. 159–61, pl. 9, 71–72; *Kunst des Islam*, pl. 297–98. The fluted towers of Radkan and Kishmar, which lie on the same Caravan Road, and of which the latter was in some sense a place of pilgrimage, are not like this, nor is the Gumbed-i-Qabus, on the Jurjan River at Dschardshan.

[16] Travels, A.D. 1160–73; Llubera, *Viajes de Benjamin de Tudela*, 23–24.

[17] Quadrado, *op. cit.*, 554, 559 sqq.

[18] *Id. ibid.*, 165–7, 147–9.

[19] Street, *op. cit.*, II, 131–32.

II §7

[20] Gómez-Moreno, *Arte Mudéjar*, p. 10, pl. 7, 8, 13, 14.

[21] Amador de los Rios, *op. cit.*, 354.

[22] Cf. G. G. King, *Early Churches of Spain*, I, Segovia, in *Journal of the Am. Inst. of Architects*, Aug., 1918, 395; and *Arquitectura*, Dec., 1922, 453.

[23] Ross and Erichsen, *Pisa*, 12. The lines are cited from Donizone's Chronicle of the Empress Matilda.

[24] Royall Tyler published a fine Aragonese tower, stepped back in successive stages, which I cannot identify, nor I fancy can he. *Spain*, pl. facing p. 305.

§2

§ 2. Sources: Add Byne and Stapley, *Spanish Architecture of the XVI century;* Artiñano, *La Casa y la Vida en Salamanca.*

III

III §1

§ 1. Sources: Lampérez; *España sus Mon.;* King, *Way of S. James;* Ramsay and Bell, *1001 Churches;* Rivoira, *Origins of Lombard Architecture*, I.

[1] Bell, *1001 Churches*, 446–56.

[2] Beylié, *Le Kala'a des Béni-Hammad*, 1.

[3] Cf. Herzfeld, and the whole Samarra bibliography.

[4] Rivoira, *Origins of Lombard*, I, 99–100, fig. 146.

[5] Van Milligen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 132, 144, 155, 162, 172, 211, 235, 248, 284, 307; Pl. 35, 38, 39, 43, 56, 69, 72,80, 88, respectively.

[6] Churches of Cuellar, plates in *Bol. Español*, viii.

III §1 [7] Savirón de Estévan, in *Museo Español de Antiguedades*, IX, 387.

[8] Lampérez, *Arq. Civil*, I, fig. 445.

[9] Bell, in *Amida*, 237 sq., fig. 161.

§2 § 2. Sources: Add Street, *Gothic Architecture*, and Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, II and III.

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov., 1923.

[2] *Kunst des Islam*, 151–3.

[3] Lampérez, *Arq. crist. Esp.*, II, 545 note.

[4] Domes and ribbing in Toledo, Gómez-Moreno, *Arte Mudéjar*, pl. 2, 3; R. Amador de los Rios, *Toledo*, 73–113.

[5] Cf. Strzygowsky, *Armenia*, II, 621–4, figs. 625–7.

[6] R. Amador de los Rios, *op. cit.*, 109, sqq.

[7] G. G. King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches*, p. 197, and partial Bibliography.

[8] Street, *op. cit.*, I, 112.

[9] Madrazo, *Córdoba* (*España sus Mon.*) 189.

[10] G. G. King, *Way of S. James*, I, 309. Eaves-brackets, cf. *Pre-Romanesque Churches*.

[11] G. G. King, The Problem of the Duero, *Art Studies*, 1925.

[12] *Arq. Crist. Esp.* I, 371.

[13] Butler, *An. Arch. in Syria*, A. 216, App. xxii; B. 3, 300; *Arch. and Other Arts*, 247, 411.

[14] Lamb, *Seljuk Building*, 55–61.

[15] Choisy, *L'Art de Bâtir chez les Byzantins*, chap. vi, pl. 15.

[16] Butler, *An. Arch. in Syria*, A. 77–80 and App. xix.

[17] Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission Archeol.*, pp. 82, 112. The "elegant dome on pendentives" is plain if not convincing, pl. 54.

III § 2

[18] Butler, *op. cit.*, B. 26 sqq.; Strzygowski, *Armenia*, I, 171, 301, 307.

[19] *Arq. Crist. Esp.* I, 377.

[20] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 226, 359.

[21] Dieulafoy, *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, IV, pl. 5, cf. pl. 14.

[22] Rivoira, *Origins of Lombard*, I, 190–199.

[23] Lampérez, *Bol. Español.* (1899) vii, 177; (1900) viii, 112–118; *Arq. crist. Esp.* I, 375.

[24] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, I, 85, 92, 309.

[25] Herzfeld, *Samarra*, pl. 1, fig. 4.

[26] Bell, *Ukhaidir*, pl. 20.

[27] Bell, in *Amida*, 258 sq., fig. 206, pl. 23; cf. *Amurath to Amurath*, 319, fig. 203.

[28] *Origins of Lombard*, I, fig. 272.

[29] *Kleinasiat. Denkm.*, p. 280, fig. 103.

[30] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, I, 102, 160–62, 174, 179, 309.

[31] Bell, *Ukhaidir*, pl. 20. Cf. plates 65, 66, 68, 80, 93.

[32] Jaussen and Savignac, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, 30, 31.

[33] *Id. ibid.*, pl. 31, 32.

[34] *Gothic Arch.* I, 112.

[35] Rivoira, *Moslem Arch.*, 178, fig. 153.

[36] *Muhamadan Arch.*, fig. 69.

[37] Lampérez, Una Evolucion y una Revolucion, *Bol. Español.* (1915), xxiii, 1.

[38] Plates in *Mon. Arq.*

[39] Loyoza, Casa Segoviana, *Bol. Español.* (1921), xxix, 1–12.

[40] Diez, *Kunst des Islam*, pl. 283–85.

§ 3. Sources: Add Byne and Stapley, *Spanish Ceilings;* Ráfolls, *Techumbres y Artesonados;* López de Arenas; Prieto. § 3

[1] I mean precisely what I say; the Visigoths had lived too long under the Empire

III §3 before reaching Spain, and the Suevi, wherever they came from, were drifted too far westward to play any particular part in the civilization of the Peninsula.

[2] *Huerta*, p. 252, and Byne and Stapley, *Spanish Ceilings*, pl. iv; cf. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, G. G. King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches*, *passim*.

[3] Byne and Stapley, *Spanish Architecture*, chap. xi; Lampérex, *Arq. Civil*, I, 150–56.

[4] E. L. Weeks, Two Centres of Moorish Art, in *Scribner's*, April, 1901, 444, 448.

[5] Byne and Stapley, *Spanish Ceilings*, 38, 82.

[6] Ráfols, *op. cit.*, 32; pl. ii and iii.

[7] Mariano del Pano, in *Revista de Aragon*, 1904. The rectangles of the design are often, strictly speaking, elongated hexagons.

[8] Ricardo del Arco, El Real Monasterio de Sigena, *Bol. Español.* (1921), xxix, 60.

[9] Lampérez, *Arq. Crist. Esp.* II, 562–69.

[10] *Trois Etapes d'Art en Egypte*, 279–95.

§4 § 4. Sources: Prieto, *Arte de la Laceria*, *Apuntes de Geometria Decorativa*.

[1] Artistas Exhumados, *Bol. Español.* (1900), viii, 249–50.

[2] Knot is an odd word for the complicated polygon formed by the interlacing bands, but it renders the Spanish *lazo* and is used by Professor B. Malley in his translation of Gómez-Moreno's *Ornamentacion Mudéjar*.

[3] Apuntes de Geometria Decorativa. *Cultura Español.* (1907), pt. 1, 229.

[4] *Architecture East and West*, Mahometan Architecture, 33–43, Stalactite (Honeycomb) Vaulting, 44–56.

[5] *Persien*, 107–13. Dr. Diez has worked in Khorassan and his volumes offer the thing itself and its history and then the theory and history of the forms. III § 4

[6] Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise*, III, pl. 70.

[7] Diez, *op. laud.* pl. 27.

§ 5. Sources: Gómez-Moreno, *Ornamentacion Mudéjar;* Saladin, *Manuel d'Art Musulmán* I; Marçais, *Manuel;* Diez, *Persien.* § 5

[1] Saladin, *Manuel*, I, 12, 236, 261.

[2] *Id. ibid.*, 91.

[3] Diez, *Kunst des Islam*, 146–47; *Persien*, 124–85; Herzfeld, *Samarra, Ornamentik*, *passim.*

[4] Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran*, figs. 90, 176, 177.

[5] For the substance of this paragraph, I am indebted to the distinguished architect of the Alhambra, Señor Torres Balbás.

[6] Lampérez, *Arq. Civil*, I, fig. 678.

[7] *Kunst des Islam*, plates, especially 216.

[8] See especially the plates prepared by *Arquitectura Española* for the work still unfinished of Gómez-Moreno.

[9] Gómez-Moreno, *Ornamentacion Mudéjar*, in *Arq. Español*, now defunct.

[10] *Op. cit.*, fig. 17, plates v-vii.

§ 6. [1] Cf. Kasr Karaneh, Jaussen and Savignac, *op. cit.*, pl. 28. § 6

[2] This last goes back perhaps to Bourges in France, where the king's aunt, the French Queen called Blanche of Castile, had domains, and whence she probably sent workmen.

IV

IV § 1. Sources: Lampérez, *Arq. Civil; Los Mendozas del Siglo XV;* Assas (in *Mon. Arq.*) Alcalá; plates of Guadalajara in *Mon. Arq.*

[1] Simancas, La Puerta de Serranos, *Bol. Español.* (1915), xxiii, 187–304.

§ 2. [1] G. G. King, *Way of St. James, II,* 133–34.

[2] Gómez-Moreno, *Arte Mudéjar*, pp. 11–12, fig. 17, pl. 16.

[3] Velazquez Bosco, *Medina Azzahra,* fig. 15, pl. iv and v.

[4] Lampérez, *Discourse at Reception* (Acad. of History), *Los Mendozas del Siglo XV.*

[5] Plates, but no text, in *Mon. Arq.*

§ 3. [1] Lampérez, *Arq. Civil,* I, 600–02, figs. 678–79.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 238–39, note.

[3] Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.* Pl. 2, figs. 9, 10.

V

V § 1. Sources: Monographs in *España sus Mon.;* Lampérez; ·Royall Tyler.

[1] This account of regional styles is more than usually indebted to Lampérez, indeed in places rather faithfully summarized, for, having commenced my own account, I found his much better.

[2] In comparing the Mudéjar squinches at La Mejorada of Olmedo (after 1409) with those in Persia, note that Lampérez's drawing is made from another occurrence, close by, in the roof of Medina del Campo, and cf. Andalusian instances cited, p. 179 of his article. *Bol. Español.* (1903) xi, 76.

§ 3. [1] Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, 144, 145, 235. V § 3

[2] Menéndez Pidal, *Poema de Mio Cid*, 27–31.

§ 4. Sources: Velazquez Bosco, *El Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Rabida;* Tormo y Monso, *Guadalupe.* § 4

§ 5. Sources: Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, II and III; Diez, the four works cited; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.* § 5

[1] Diez, *Kunst des Islam*, 293, 299; *Persien*, pl. 19–22, 38, 40, 41–42, 63.

[2] Diez, *Churasan. Baudenkm.*, pl. 10.

[3] Diez, *Persien*, pl. 44–62, 79.

[4] Diez, *Persien*, 154, pl. 70, 77, 78, 79 (cf. *Churasan. Baudenkm.* pl. 18, 19, 22) and pp. 117–124, especially 123.

[5] Cf., in addition to Quadrado and Lampérez, Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, 17.

[6] Beazley, *Dawn*, II, 220–26, 273–74.

[7] *Id. ibid.*, III, 530–38.

[8] *Id. ibid.*, II, 276–79; 372–80; III, 334 sqq.

[9] R. González de Clavijo, *Embassy to the Court of Timur*, Hakluyt Society, xxvi.

[10] *Kunst des Islam*, pl. viii.

§ 6. [1] J. Amador de los Rios, *Discourse at Reception*, 30. § 6

VI

§ 1. [1] Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, 231. VI § 1

§ 2. [1] The *Junta para la ampliacion de estudios*, in Madrid, has done good work in this matter, with, of course, Codera, and some of the men at Saragossa, and Palacios Asin of Madrid University: v. Bibliography. § 2

VI §2

[2] Ribera and Asin, *MSS. Arabes y Aljamiados*, p. v. seqq.

[3] Again it seems necessary to repeat that I mean what I say—of two things especially. Mudéjar is a part of the art of Islam, but it is Spanish, as Gothic is an art Christian and European, but at Toledo and Barcelona it is Spanish. Romanesque in Spain is not French, as we all know now; Mudéjar in Spain is not Mauretanian or Mesopotamian or Persian.

Beati pacifici

Secondly, the Mudéjars were a class of producers. They probably never fought much in all the eight hundred years from Roderick the Goth to Charles the Emperor. We have not written, so far, much history which concerns itself exclusively with Production as the basis of a state; we have barely begun to recognize it in actuality. It is, however, likely that while some husbandmen were carried off for armies, some fishermen impressed for navies, some apprentices encouraged to run away and enlist, they did not come back into their class again, they were deducted and the class continued. Such, at any rate, is the impression left by a study like *Los Mudéjares de Castilla.*

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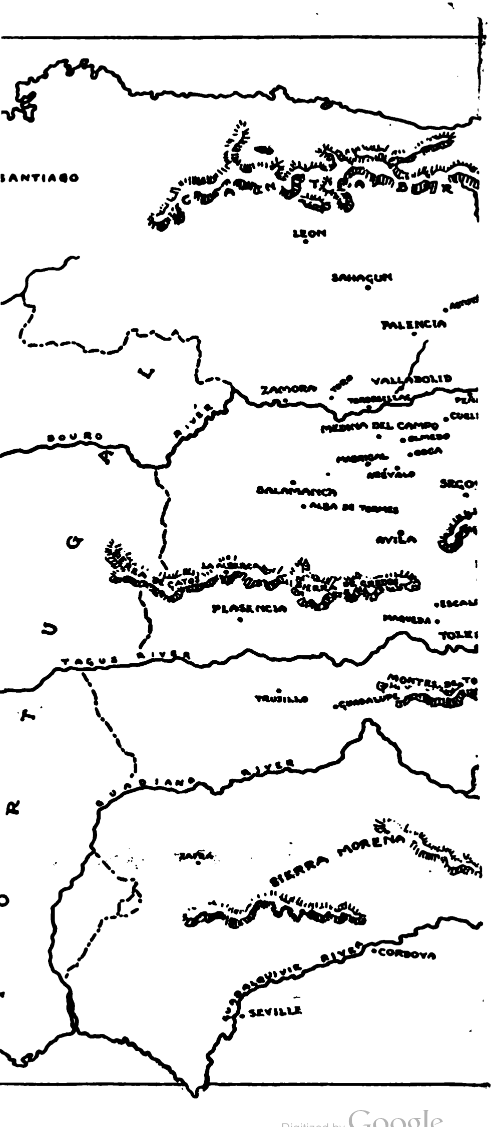
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